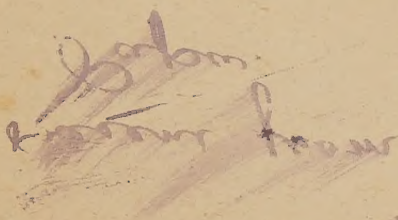
THE NATIONAL STANDARD HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



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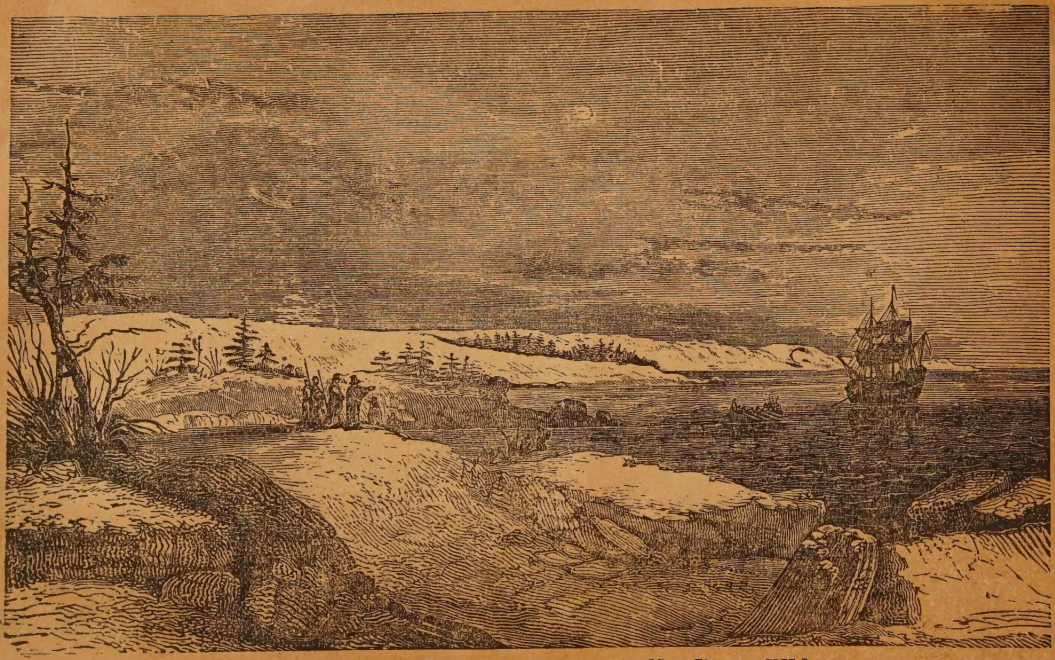

LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH ROCK.—[See Chapter XII.]

The National Standard

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR POPULAR USE.

A COMPLETE AND CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION FROM ITS DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME, WITH CHAPTERS UPON THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE VARIOUS PERIODS.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED.

BY EVERIT BROWN.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages tell the story of United States history from the days when this land was tenanted only by beasts and barbarians to the present year. The intention and endeavor of the author has been to omit no important fact, no incident that marked or assisted the development of the nation during the whole of this time. To accomplish this result within the moderate compass of a single volume, it was necessary that no superfluous words or flights of fancy should be indulged in. Hence this book will be found a plain presentation of the facts.

It need hardly be said that great care has been exercised to obtain exact statements of fact. In the earlier and more obscure portions of our history and concerning troublous and confused times, such as the Civil War, considerable divergence is found among the authorities as to dates and figures. In such cases the author has given the preference to the most consistent and reasonable statements, but where the truth has been accessible to search he has endeavored to find it.

To write an impartial history of any country is a difficult task; to write without prejudice of one's own country is well-nigh impossible. Political strife, religious animosities, sectional differences, all combine to prevent the historian from writing the colorless truth and also to prevent the reader from agreeing with his statements. Nevertheless, the author of

this book has honestly endeavored to give facts as they are without bending them to any purpose of his own. In the account of the slavery agitation and of the great Civil War which was the outcome of that controversy, he has been especially careful to give the prominent facts on both sides of the question, concealing nothing on the one side and setting down naught in malice against the other. That deadly struggle is too recent in our minds and raised too many bitter feelings in this land to be recounted impartially without the strictest control of the pen.

While it has been the main purpose of the author to give the facts without attempting to enforce his own interpretation of them, he has by no means neglected the sequence of events and the philosophy of history. The causes and results of wars and other great crises have been carefully pointed out, and the story of our country has been given in orderly succession from beginning to end. The six periods of this book are those into which our history naturally divides itself, and they need no further explanation than that which they receive in the following pages.

Every help for ready reference has been furnished to the reader in the outline of contents which heads each chapter and in the carefully prepared index.

The author now submits his work to the public with the hope that it will be found as he intended it—a straightforward, complete, accurate, concise, and impartial history of a great and a free people.

E. B.

New York, 1896.

CONTENTS.

FIRST PERIOD.

Discovery and Exploration.

CHAPTER I. PAGE

The Indians 19

CHAPTER II.

The Norsemen 27

CHAPTER III.

Columbus and the Cabots 30

CHAPTER IV.

Spanish Explorations 41

CHAPTER V.

French Explorations 51

CHAPTER VI.

English Explorations 62

CHAPTER VII.

Dutch Explorations 69

CHAPTER VIII.

Review of the First Period 72

SECOND PERIOD.

Settlement and Growth.

CHAPTER IX. PAGE

Virginia under the First Charter..... 79

CHAPTER X.

Virginia under the Second and Third Charters..... 87

CHAPTER XI.

Virginia a Royal Province..... 94

CHAPTER XII.

Massachusetts—Plymouth Colony..... 103

CHAPTER XIII.

Massachusetts Bay Colony and the New England Union 111

CHAPTER XIV.

Massachusetts—King Philip's War and Andros..... 121

CHAPTER XV.

Massachusetts—Wars and Witchcraft..... 127

CHAPTER XVI.

New York under the Dutch..... 136

CHAPTER XVII.

New York under the English..... 143

CHAPTER XVIII.

Connecticut..... 152

CHAPTER XIX.

Rhode Island..... 159

CHAPTER XX.

New Hampshire..... 163

PAGE

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW JERSEY 167

CHAPTER XXII.

PENNSYLVANIA 172

CHAPTER XXIII.

MARYLAND 177

CHAPTER XXIV.

NORTH CAROLINA 183

CHAPTER XXV.

SOUTH CAROLINA 188

CHAPTER XXVI.

GEORGIA 194

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CAUSES AND COMMENCEMENT 199

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—EVENTS OF 1755 206

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—TWO YEARS OF DISASTER .. 212

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—SUCCESSES AND PEACE 216

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONDITION OF THE COLONIES 225

THIRD PERIOD.

INDEPENDENCE AND UNION.

CHAPTER XXXII. PAGE
CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION..... 235

CHAPTER XXXIII.
THE REVOLUTION—1775..... 246

CHAPTER XXXIV.
THE REVOLUTION—1776—INDEPENDENCE..... 257

CHAPTER XXXV.
THE REVOLUTION—1777..... 268

CHAPTER XXXVI.
THE REVOLUTION—1778..... 279

CHAPTER XXXVII.
THE REVOLUTION—1779..... 284

CHAPTER XXXVIII.
THE REVOLUTION—1780..... 291

CHAPTER XXXIX.
CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION—1781–1783..... 297

CHAPTER XL.
FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION..... 309

FOURTH PERIOD.

DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY.

CHAPTER XLI.
WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION—1789–1797..... 317

CHAPTER XLII.

PAGE

ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION—1797–1801..... 324

CHAPTER XLIII.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION—1801–1809..... 329

CHAPTER XLIV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—1809–1817—THE WAR OF 1812 COMMENCED..... 337

CHAPTER XLV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—EVENTS OF 1813. 345

CHAPTER XLVI.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED—CLOSE OF THE WAR..... 352

CHAPTER XLVII.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION—1817–1825..... 361

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION—1825–1829..... 367

CHAPTER XLIX.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION—1829–1837..... 371

CHAPTER L.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION—1837–1841..... 378

CHAPTER LI.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER—1841–1845.... 383

CHAPTER LII.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—1845–1849—THE MEXICAN WAR.. 391

CHAPTER LIII.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE—1849–1853.... 403

CHAPTER LIV. PAGE

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION—1853–1857 409

CHAPTER LV.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION—1857–1861 415

FIFTH PERIOD.

CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION.

CHAPTER LVI.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR 427

CHAPTER LVII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—1861–1865—THE CIVIL WAR—1861 434

CHAPTER LVIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR—1862 444

CHAPTER LIX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR—1863—EMANCIPATION 456

CHAPTER LX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR—1864 466

CHAPTER LXI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED—CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR—1865 479

SIXTH PERIOD.

RECONSTRUCTION AND PEACE.

CHAPTER LXII. PAGE
JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION—1865–1869..... 491

CHAPTER LXIII.
GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION—1869–1877..... 498

CHAPTER LXIV.
HAYES' ADMINISTRATION—1877–1881..... 506

CHAPTER LXV.
ADMINISTRATIONS OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR—1881–1885... 512

CHAPTER LXVI.
CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION—1885 AND 1886..... 521

CHAPTER LXVII.
CONCLUSION..... 526

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.
THE SOCIAL COMPACT SIGNED IN THE CABIN OF THE "MAYFLOWER," 1620..... iii

APPENDIX B.
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE..... iv

APPENDIX C.
ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION..... ix

APPENDIX D. PAGE

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA .. xvii

APPENDIX E.

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON..... xxxiv

APPENDIX F.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION..... xlviii

APPENDIX G.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF UNITED STATES HISTORY... 1

APPENDIX H.

THE STATES OF THE UNION..... lviii

APPENDIX I.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. lx

APPENDIX J.

CENSUS TABLE..... lxi

List of Illustrations.

	PAGE
Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock	*Frontispiece*
The Ancient Tower at Newport	28
Columbus	32
Columbus Discovering Land	35
John Smith	82
Pocahontas	84
Plymouth Rock	107
The First Church Erected in Connecticut. Hartford, 1638	153
The Charter Oak	157
William Penn	173
A Fortified House	213
The Stocks	227
A Wedding-Journey	229
Lantern in Old North Church Giving Notice to Paul Revere	246
Putnam Leaves Farming for Fighting	247
Putnam Entering the Wolf's Den	249
Israel Putnam	251
The Old Elm-Tree at Cambridge	253
Map of the Battle of Bunker Hill	255
Liberty Bell	261
Washington Crossing the Delaware	265
Marquis de Lafayette	271
Benjamin Franklin	280
Putnam Escapes the British	287
Cornwallis	303
Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown	305
George Washington	319
John Adams	325
Thomas Jefferson	331

PAGE

James Madison..... 339
James Monroe..... 363
John Quincy Adams..... 369
Andrew Jackson..... 373
First Railroad Train in the United States..... 377
Martin Van Buren..... 379
William Henry Harrison..... 384
John Tyler..... 385
Bunker Hill Monument..... 388
James K. Polk..... 393
General Winfield Scott..... 397
Zachary Taylor..... 404
Millard Fillmore..... 405
Daniel Webster..... 407
Franklin Pierce..... 411
James Buchanan..... 417
Jefferson Davis..... 421
Fort Sumter..... 422
Abraham Lincoln..... 435
Lincoln's Early Home in Illinois..... 437
Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor..... 439
Naval Duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*..... 449
General Robert E. Lee..... 459
General W. T. Sherman..... 469
Grant's Campaign Around Richmond..... 472
General Philip H. Sheridan..... 473
Sheridan's Arrival at Cedar Creek..... 475
Sinking the *Alabama*..... 477
Lee and Grant Signing the Terms of Surrender..... 481
Assassination of President Lincoln..... 484
Tomb of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois..... 485
Andrew Johnson..... 493
Ulysses S. Grant..... 499
Rutherford B. Hayes..... 507
James A. Garfield..... 513
Chester A. Arthur..... 517
Grover Cleveland..... 523

First Period.

Discovery and Exploration.

FIRST PERIOD.

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIANS.

Their name—Origin—Physical characteristics—Nature—Occupations and amusements—Tobacco—Liquor—Position of the women—Marriage—Habitations—Agriculture—Tools and weapons—Dress—Decorations—Laws and government—The "medicine-man"—Religion—Language—Distribution of tribes—The conflict of the "pale-face" and the red man—The Mound Builders—Description and possible uses of the mounds—Ruins in Arizona—Height of civilization reached in Mexico, Central America, and Peru.

When the Spanish discovered America in the latter part of the fifteenth century, they found the country inhabited by a barbarous, or at best a semi-civilized race. Columbus, thinking that he had reached the islands of India, for which he had set sail, called the natives *Indians*, and by that name they have ever since been known.

The widely scattered tribes, though differing in appearance and customs, were undoubtedly descended from a common ancestry. What that ancestry was is an unsettled question, and many speculations have been indulged in regarding it. It has even been suggested that the Indians were the descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel. Others hold that the Old World was peopled by wanderers from America, the

original starting-place of the human race. But it seems more likely that emigration flowed in the opposite direction, though we cannot tell just how the first emigrants crossed into this continent. A plausible supposition is that Africans or Europeans drifted or sailed across the Atlantic and became the progenitors of the Indians. The most probable theory of all, however, maintains that Asiatic races found their way into America, perhaps across Behring's Straits, and in the course of centuries spread over the whole Western Hemisphere. There are certain similarities between the Indian and Mongolian races that lend support to this position.

The Indian tribes that covered the present territory of the United States had more resemblance for each other than for the Esquimaux in the extreme north or the Mexican Indians in the south. They were of average height, and had brown complexions, dark eyes, full lips, prominent noses, high cheek-bones, and long, straight, black hair. They were sinewy of muscle, active in movement, and were capable of much endurance, though rather from constant practice and necessity than from constitution.

In peace the Indian was indolent, haughty, and taciturn, using terse though figurative language. In war or the chase he was alert, active, and persistent. He was vindictive to those who had injured him but steadfastly loyal to his friends. It has been said that an Indian never forgave an offense or forgot a kindness. He fought in small bands of warriors and sought victory by surprise and treachery. His cruelty in war spared neither age nor sex, unless to reserve some victims for the tortures which he delighted to witness. He was brave and stoical in the extreme, often testing his disregard of pain by the severest self-inflicted injuries. The warrior was no more than a coward who flinched under the tortures of his ene-

mies or failed to fling taunt and defiance in their faces even while he burned at the stake.

The men devoted their principal energies to hunting, fishing, and warfare. Each tribe was engaged in almost incessant war with neighboring tribes who had offended some of its members or invaded its hunting-grounds, which were guarded with jealous care. When not engaged in these pursuits, the warriors prepared their weapons for fresh use, indulged in athletic sports, dancing, gambling, and games of ball, or else idled away their time. The dancing was engaged in chiefly by the men, who wrought themselves into a state of frenzy as they whirled round and round. The war-dance was a horrible sight to behold, and even the dances on more peaceful occasions were wild and frantic. The Indians smoked tobacco constantly, and when the Europeans introduced liquor, or "fire-water" as they called it, among them, they indulged to excess whenever they could procure it. The drudgery of work was left to the women, who cultivated the small crop of maize, gathered acorns, made pottery and baskets, wove to some extent, and cooked the food.

Polygamy was allowed among the Indians, but it was not common among the northern tribes. Marriages were made at a youthful period, and the ceremony often consisted in nothing more than the maiden presenting the young warrior with an armful of fuel and a dish of food. Near relations were not admitted to wedlock with each other.

The Indians lived for the most part in tents, or "wigwams," made of poles covered with bark or skins. They frequently changed their abode to secure more game or fuel. Some of the more advanced and settled tribes, however, built large wigwams capable of covering several families. When a lengthy stay in any place was intended, the group of wigwams was in-

closed by a palisade for defense. But most of the tribes paid slight attention to agriculture and roved from place to place. The chief object of tilling the soil was to raise Indian corn, or maize. The women, or "squaws," scratched the ground with a crooked stick for a plow and cultivated the crop with the same implement or a clam-shell hoe.

Their other tools were as rude as these. The only metals which they knew or could employ were gold, silver, or copper, and their knowledge of these metals depended on the part of the country which they inhabited. Copper, of course, was the only one of practical use, and the few implements made of it which they possessed were highly prized. Wood and stone were the materials chiefly used, and the latter was with much labor rudely worked into the desired shapes. Their weapons were the shield, the spear, the hatchet or "tomahawk," the bow and arrow, the war-club, and the knife. In the use of these they attained marvelous facility. They could hurl the spear and throw the tomahawk and knife with the greatest accuracy for many yards. Their arrows were tipped with flint or bone and were shot with deadly force and precision. The western Indians could send an arrow clear through the bulky body of a buffalo. Canoes were roughly fashioned from trunks of trees or skillfully constructed of bark, and they made snow-shoes for walking on the soft snow in winter.

Dress differed with the climate and the season, and when the weather permitted was reduced to small extent. Skins, carefully prepared, supplied most of the material, but some had rudely woven blankets and other articles. The head-dress differed among the many tribes. Painting the body and face was a universal custom. In war they made themselves extremely hideous by the use of various pigments, with blue, black, and especially vermilion. They were ex-

ceedingly fond of ornaments and wore rings in their ears, with bracelets, necklaces, and other decorations. The scalps of conquered enemies hung in their wigwams or were strung around the warrior's body.

The Indians had no laws, properly speaking. Each one followed his own desires except as modified by his fear or the necessity of coöperation with others. Each tribe had its chief, or sachem, who held his place by virtue of his prowess and personal influence, hereditary chiefs being seldom known. By the will of the sachem they were largely guided, but he was far from holding autocratic power. Sometimes a man like King Philip, or Tecumseh of later times, would arise who by his genius and ability gained an influence in other tribes than his own and made alliances with them, but such men were rare.

The "medicine-man" was a striking figure among the Indians. He occupied a sacred position, and was regarded with fear and awe as combining in his person the knowledge and authority of physician, prophet, priest, and magician.

The religion of the Indians was exceedingly undeveloped. They seem to have believed in a Great Spirit, good and powerful, who ruled the world, though eminent authorities have denied that they held such a faith. At any rate their conception of a Supreme Being was extremely rude, and the extent and character of their reverence toward Him has been much overstated. They had, however, a firm belief in good and bad spirits and were careful to propitiate them with gifts and sacrifices. Few tribes had anything like temples in which to worship. They believed in the life of the soul after death, but they imagined that the spirits of the departed passed a life much the same as the one they had left on earth, and they were careful to place near the bodies of their departed friends food, water, and the weapons of the warrior.

The language of the Indians was divided into as many dialects as there were tribes. These dialects resembled each other to a considerable extent, but can hardly be compared with the language of any other people. Even between themselves there was so much dissimilarity that one tribe was often unable to understand the dialect of another. It was a language of monosyllables, each word expressing some definite but narrow meaning. They had no abstract or general words. There was, for instance, no word "to hunt," but there were words to describe each kind of hunting, as "to-kill-a-deer-with-an-arrow." They often joined together a long string of monosyllables which formed a description of the thing they wished to express. They had no knowledge of writing as we know it, but could express much by their system of picture-writing or hieroglyphics. The history of past events was handed from generation to generation by word of mouth or sometimes represented by rude figures scratched on bark or rocks.

The various nations of the aborigines at the time of the settlement of America covered pretty clearly marked districts of the country. The larger part of the territory east of the Mississippi and northward from Cape Fear was occupied by the family of the Algonquins. It was with these Indians that the early settlers came most in contact. The northern and central portion of this district was covered by the Huron-Iroquois, who spread over a large part of the country that now comprises the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. They embraced, among others, the nations of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, who together formed the great and much-dreaded confederacy known as the "Five Nations." Among these the Mohawks were especially noted for their power and ferocity.

South of the Algonquins were the Cherokees,

and further south, extending from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, were the Mobilians, who included the Creeks in Georgia and the Seminoles in Florida.

The Dakotas covered the vast territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi from the Arkansas River northward. Over our state of Texas roved the wild and blood-thirsty Comanches, and west of the Rocky Mountains were various nations known as the Selish, the Klamaths, the Shoshones, and the Californians. Mexico was occupied by the Aztecs and Toltecs, the most highly civilized and least warlike of the North American Indians.

As a rule the southern Indians were more civilized than those at the north. They devoted more attention to agriculture, built houses and towns, and were more peaceful. But all were gradually driven back before the superior prowess and civilization of the pale-face. Further and further west have they fled, till now there are but few east of the Mississippi. West of that great dividing line of our country the Government has allotted reservations to the different tribes in the Indian Territory and elsewhere. Some of these tribes are quite peaceful and seem to have lost in large measure their old lawlessness, but others still break their bounds occasionally and show their national temper in pillage and massacre, till our troops force them once more into submission to law.

Many curious remains in various parts of the country, but chiefly in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, give rise to the belief, not absolutely proven as yet, however, that the continent was in past ages peopled by a race of superior civilization to the Indians who displaced them. This supposed early race are known as the Mound Builders because of the strange earthworks which they constructed. Some of these seem to have been designed as fortifications and crown the summits of natural or artificial elevations.

Others were apparently intended for religious ceremonies or merely as monuments to the dead. They are often built in the shape of serpents, of men, or of animals, and many of them cover large areas of ground.

One of the most remarkable of these earthworks is situated in Adams County, Ohio. It is known as the "Great Serpent," from its resemblance to a serpent in the act of swallowing an egg. It extends for 1,000 feet along the ridge of a hill. The outline is formed by an embankment about five feet in height and twenty feet wide at the base. The largest of the mounds is on the Mississippi opposite St. Louis. It covers twelve acres and is about 100 feet in height.

Some of these mounds have been opened and they have been found to contain skeletons, with weapons, tools, pottery, ornaments, and woven fabrics that indicate considerable skill in manufacture. In Arizona, moreover, are ruins of substantial houses, aqueducts, and fortifications that prove the existence there at one time of a people well advanced in civilization. And in the same region are innumerable cavities in the cliffs, extensive and carefully constructed, where this people seem to have fled before some enemy.

In Mexico, Central America, and still more in Peru, are found the remains, many of them well preserved, of large and magnificent temples, strong fortifications, and vast aqueducts and bridges. In these parts of America the ancient civilization reached a height that immeasurably surpassed the condition of the Indians and is not to be despised even from our advanced stand-point. But we know little, and can hope to know little, of the history and the customs, the greatness and the decline of these nations that flourished while Europe was in the dark ages, or perhaps even while Rome was the mistress of the world.

CHAPTER II.

THE NORSEMEN.

Ancient tradition of Atlantis—Mediæval myths of St. Brandan and the Island of the Seven Cities—The Norsemen—Herjulfson discovers America—Lief winters in New England—Thornfinn Karlsefne explores the coast—Snorre—No permanent results of Norse discoveries—Stone tower at Newport—Ignorance of the discovery of a new continent.

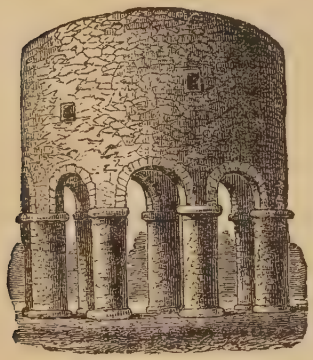
Far back among the mists of antiquity there were dim traditions of a land of beauty and plenty that lay to the west of Europe. Plato names this vague place Atlantis, and asserts that the knowledge of it came from the Egyptians.

In the middle ages many believed that a terrestrial paradise existed on the other side of the globe. Mythical islands named St. Brandan and the Island of the Seven Cities were actually laid down on the maps to the west and north of the Canary and Madeira Islands. It was asserted that these had been visited, and expeditions were sent out even as late as 1721 to search for St. Brandan.

How far America or the West Indies formed the basis of these legends it is impossible to tell. It may be that mariners had been driven by storms to these shores or had ventured far enough to see them. But we tread here on very unsubstantial ground.

It is not till near the close of the tenth century of the Christian era that we come upon a tolerably certain account of the discovery of America by the Norsemen. There never was a people more fond of the sea and its dangers, more hardy in combating

them, more venturesome and persistent in their voyages, than the race who inhabited the Scandinavian peninsula and Iceland. They roved everywhere over the North Sea and the northern Atlantic, making sudden landings on the coasts when they attacked villages and plundered the people. They settled in France, and Normandy was named from its conquerors. They overran England, established themselves for a while in power there, and after William the Conqueror the English monarchs were descendants of the old Vikings.



THE ANCIENT TOWER AT NEWPORT.

From the Icelandic sagas, or legends, we learn that in the year 986 a sailor named Herjulfson was driven by a storm down to and along the coast of Newfoundland, or Labrador, but he did not touch the shore. Excited by the stories brought back from this voyage, a venturesome mariner, named Lief, sailed to the westward and reached Labrador in 1001. He coasted southward at least as far as the shores of New England, which he called Vinland. There he passed the winter. In 1007 Thornfinn Karlsefne reached the shore of Massachusetts and spent three winters, exploring the coast far southward. A son, named Snorre, was born to him there who is supposed to be the first child born in this country of European parents.

Other adventurers came to the new land but no permanent settlement was made, and after a while the memory of their discoveries almost died out

among the Norsemen. They left few, if any, relics of their visits. An old stone tower which is still standing in Newport, Rhode Island, is thought by many to be the work of their hands, but others have shown a similarity between this tower and others still standing in England, and conclude that it was built for a windmill by the English settlers. Historically, therefore, its origin is in doubt, but Longfellow's charming ballad of "The Skeleton in Armor," which refers to this structure and to a skeleton found at Fall River, Massachusetts, will always cause it to be associated in our minds with the Vikings.

The Norsemen, however, never knew that they had discovered a new continent. They thought the shores they visited were only a part of Greenland hitherto unknown, and history dates some centuries later the discovery of America, that was to open a new era for mankind.

CHAPTER III.

COLUMBUS AND THE CABOTS.

Christopher Columbus—Early life—Popular and scientific beliefs concerning the roundness of the earth—The fifteenth century—The eastern trade—Missionary spirit—Columbus seeks aid in Genoa—In Portugal—In Spain—Hardships and delays—Success with Ferdinand and Isabella—First voyage—America discovered—Honors to Columbus—Second voyage—A colony planted—Third voyage—The main-land discovered—Arrested and released—Vasco da Gama sails around the Cape of Good Hope—Fourth voyage of Columbus—Sufferings and death—Amerigo Vespucci—John Cabot discovers Labrador—Sebastian Cabot explores the American coast—His subsequent life—The first to recognize that a new continent had been discovered.

It is to the daring, the courage, the untiring energy, and the practical genius of one man that the world owes the real discovery of America. That man was Christopher Columbus.

Born in Genoa, Italy, or possibly, as recent discoveries seem to indicate, in the Island of Corsica, which was then held by Genoa, in the first half of the fifteenth century, Columbus received a good education that embraced geometry, astronomy, and geography, though he was of a humble social station. He passed his youth and early manhood on the sea, engaged in the commercial voyages and maritime warfare of the Mediterranean, sailed as far south on the Atlantic as the coast of Guinea, and showed his adventurous spirit by a voyage that extended a hundred leagues beyond Iceland in the extreme north. But the seas of the world which were then known did not furnish

sufficient material to satisfy his active mind, and he gradually conceived the grander attempt that was finally accomplished and was destined to revolutionize the world.

Columbus, however, was by no means the first to suggest that the world was round. Previous to his age, and even during his life, it was the common notion that the world was a vast plain, but from time to time astronomers and geographers had asserted the contrary.

As far back as seven centuries before Christ, a theory was advanced that the earth was of cylindrical form. In the third century before Christ a learned geographer, Eratosthenes, declared that the earth was a sphere. Again, in the second century of the Christian era, Ptolemy, who founded a system of astronomy that lasted till Copernicus provided a better in the sixteenth century, used sound reasoning to prove the same conclusion. Sir John Mandeville also, the great English traveler, in the account of his travels announced the same opinion in the century preceding that of Columbus.

These views were now held by many geographers. The art of printing was beginning to diffuse knowledge more widely than had hitherto been possible. By means of books and personal contact with these geographers Columbus adopted their opinions.

Columbus grew to manhood in an age that surpassed all previous ones in its commercial and maritime spirit. The various nations of Europe, and especially the powerful republics of Italy, carried on an extensive commerce with all parts of the known world. The trade with India and the East in precious stones, shawls, spices, and silks had grown to valuable proportions, and the states of Italy lying in the track of this traffic between Europe and Asia owed a large part of their prosperity to it.

The cargoes of merchandise were brought from the Oriental countries to the Red Sea, thence to the Nile, and from there to Europe—a journey that involved great expense and frequent reshipment and subjected the valuable goods to the mercy of robbers and pirates. Italy, moreover, besides the advantages of natural position, had gained a supremacy and power on the Mediterranean that largely cut off the western nations of Europe from engaging directly in this

COLUMBUS.

profitable trade. If some other and more convenient route to the East could be found, this commerce would be greatly developed and its profits distributed more equally among the European nations.

Nothing, we have seen, was known at this time of a continent to the west lying between Europe and Asia, and Asia was believed to extend much further eastward than we now know to be the case. Moreover, though the true circumference of the earth had

been reached with some accuracy by the early geographers we have already mentioned, Columbus did not believe that it exceeded 10,000 or 12,000 miles. It is not improbable, too, that on his voyage to Iceland he may have heard traditions of a land to the westward that confirmed his views.

Here, then, was the solution of the problem. Sail westward, said Columbus, and the rich shores of Japan, Tartary, and India will be easily reached.

Christianity was represented in Europe at this time almost exclusively by the Church of Rome. The last crusade to rescue Palestine from the control of the Mohammedans had been ended 200 years before, but the crusading spirit was not dead and Christians were still eager to convert the unbelieving by argument, by torture, or by the sword. Columbus seems to have been no less stirred by the idea of bringing the millions of heathen whose countries he might reach to the true faith than by the hope of facilitating commerce.

At any rate he had conceived a mighty project, and he now devoted his life to its realization. Being unable to fit out an expedition on his own account, he first sought aid in the city of his birth, but met only with failure. He then left Genoa for Lisbon, where he came nearer to success, but finding at last that the King of Portugal would not grant his request, he sent his brother to England to represent his cause and he himself went to Spain.

The rulers of Spain at this time were Ferdinand and Isabella, powerful monarchs and devoted to the interests of the Church of Rome. His petition to them was referred to a council of the clergy, some of whom were convinced by his arguments, but the majority of whom conceived that his theory was contrary to the Scriptures and consequently untrue. His efforts were therefore unavailing, and he turned away disheartened.

His purse had been emptied by the long delays, and he was forced at last into begging bread for himself and his little boy at the door of a convent. He was a man of commanding presence and dignified bearing, with hair that had turned white long before. The prior, struck by his appearance, made inquiries of him and was impressed by his sad history. He interested himself in obtaining an audience for Columbus with the king and queen.

Ferdinand was inclined to favor a project which promised to bring new and wealthy regions under his sway, and the sympathies of Isabella were aroused by the possibility of converting the heathen. But Columbus, thoroughly convinced of the practicability and value of his plans, insisted on what seemed extravagant terms. The coffers of the Spanish treasury had been drained by a long war with the Moors, and his demands were denied.

Once more all seemed lost, and he had already started to depart, when a messenger, hurrying after, recalled him to Isabella Her religious enthusiasm had been deeply stirred by Columbus, and she offered to pledge her crown-jewels to carry out his plans. This sacrifice, however, was afterward found unnecessary.

It was the early part of 1492. For seven long years Columbus had been in Spain, struggling against hindrances and obstacles, hardships and despair, but at last, when about fifty-six years of age, success crowned his attempts and the sufferings of the past were forgotten. He was ennobled, made admiral of the "Ocean Sea," and viceroy and governor of all the countries which he might discover therein.

On Friday morning, August 3, 1492, Columbus set sail from the seaport of Palos in the *Santa Maria*. Two other vessels, hardly more than open boats, named the *Pinta* and the *Nina* and commanded by the

Pinzons, accompanied him. His men numbered 120, many of them being forced to go on a voyage that was too hazardous for their taste. The crews soon showed signs of a mutinous spirit. As they sailed

COLUMBUS DISCOVERING LAND.

further and further from the coast of Europe, the magnetic needle no longer pointed to its accustomed star. Unacquainted with the variations of the compass, they took this as an ill omen. They lost hope

of ever penetrating the vast floating masses of seaweed on the Sargasso Sea. Again and again an apparent glimpse of land proved illusory.

At last they threatened openly to throw their admiral overboard if he did not turn back. Columbus had not lost confidence; he insisted that a few more days would bring them to land. The very next day hope was revived: a carved stick was picked up from the water. Inhabited shores must now be close at hand. A careful watch was kept on board all the vessels. That night Columbus saw a faint light far ahead, and just at daybreak Rodrigo de Triana, from the deck of the *Pinta*, caught sight of land, and a gun was fired to give notice to the other vessels.

As the sun rose above the horizon on Friday morning, October 12, 1492, Columbus stepped ashore, clad in scarlet and carrying the banner of Spain. We may faintly imagine his feelings as he fell upon the ground and kissed it in the exuberance of his joy, and then planting the cross and the banner, took possession of the new territory in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The island on which he first landed, one of the Bahamas, he named San Salvador. For three months he cruised among the neighboring islands, which he called the West Indies, supposing they lay off the coast of India. He visited Hayti, which was called Hispaniola, Cuba, and other islands. On Hayti a fort was built of timbers from the *Santa Maria*. This is the first structure known to have been built by Europeans on American soil.

In the early part of the next year he turned eastward to carry back to Spain the news of his success. The commander of the *Pinta* had deserted off Cuba, and had started home expecting to be the first narrator of this wonderful discovery. It is said, however, that Pinzon did not arrive till the midst of the gen-

eral rejoicings over the return of Columbus, who had preceded him by a few hours. He did not live long to bear the intense mortification which he felt at the failure of his treachery.

Ferdinand and Isabella received Columbus in state, and did him the unusual honor of requesting that he be seated in their presence while telling his marvelous story. Everywhere now there was unbounded enthusiasm, and praise, and fame for the man who a few months before had been considered a fanatic and forced to beg his bread.

In the fall of this same year, 1493, Columbus started on a second voyage to the New World in command of seventeen vessels. He discovered Jamaica, Porto Rico, and other islands, and established a colony on Hayti. On his return to Spain in 1496 he found that envy had begun its infamous work against him.

But he succeeded in freeing himself for a time from the effects of malice and started on a third voyage in 1498. It was on this voyage that he first touched the main-land of the Western Continent near the mouth of the Orinoco River, in South America. Returning to Hayti, where he exerted himself in restoring order to the disorganized colony, he was arrested by a commissioner from Spain, put in chains, and carried home in disgrace. Jealousy and dissension had done their worst against him. But the people were indignant, and Ferdinand had to declare the act unauthorized. Columbus, however, was superseded in his command and had lost much influence at court.

But his desires were not dead. Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese navigator, had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 and had found a way of reaching India by water. This reanimated Columbus. He hoped to find a strait near Darien by which his old dream of opening direct westward communica-

tion with India might be realized. Ferdinand was once more persuaded by the promise of new realms and abundant treasures to provide a fourth equipment for Columbus.

The discoverer set sail on his last voyage in 1502 and coasted in the southern part of the Gulf of Mexico, without, of course, finding the desired strait or accomplishing anything of particular value.

He returned, after much discouragement and hardship, in 1504. His friend Isabella died about this time, and his influence was gone. He lingered for a while, poor, suffering, and neglected, till on the 20th of May, 1506, death came to his release. He was buried with magnificence in Valladolid, Spain, and ultimately his body was removed to the cathedral of San Domingo, in Hayti, where it is supposed to be still resting.

His own age did not appreciate Columbus at his full worth. The continent he had led the way in discovering was named after another man. Amerigo Vespucci, a Venetian navigator, made several voyages to the New World and touched the main-land. His account of his travels was published in 1505, and a German geographer suggested that the land he had described be called America. The name soon found popular favor and was adopted, but Vespucci was an honorable man and a friend of Columbus, and there is no reason to believe that he himself desired to take from Columbus the honor of giving a name to the Western Continent. Yet we cannot but regret that some part of the fame which has increased for the memory of Columbus with every year since his death did not fall to him in life to assuage the misery and the pain of his last years.

But Columbus was not the first to see the main-land of America. John Cabot was a skillful sailor who had lived long in Venice and England. To him Henry VII. of England gave a commission to make

explorations and take possession in the name of England of all lands which he might discover. He sailed from England in 1497, and on June 24th of that year came in sight of the coast of Labrador or of Cape Breton Island. Columbus, it will be remembered, did not discover the continent of South America till fourteen months later.

Cabot took possession of the country he had reached with the usual formalities, planting the cross and the banners of England and the Venetian Republic, and cruised for several hundred miles along the coast.

His return to England was marked by unbounded rejoicings. The king desired him to continue his discoveries and was willing to furnish the necessary funds. But he does not appear to have made a second voyage, and his name henceforth disappears mysteriously from the pages of history.

But his son Sebastian, who had probably accompanied his father on his famous voyage, perpetuated and added new luster to the name of Cabot. In 1498, when hardly more than twenty-two years of age, he commanded an expedition whose object was to find a northwest passage to India. He therefore directed his course at first to the higher latitudes, but afterward turned southward along the coast, which he explored as far down, probably, as the Chesapeake. He had made extensive discoveries, but his voyage was unsuccessful so far as its chief object was concerned, and it attracted less attention because of the great success which Vasco da Gama had just attained in reaching India by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

Sebastian Cabot's subsequent life was varied. On the death of Henry VII. Ferdinand invited him to Spain, where he was accorded high honors and given the command of an expedition to search in the southwest for a passage to India. On this voyage he entered the La Plata River, in South America. After-

ward returning to England, he received a pension and became the president of a company which sent out an expedition to the northeast to seek in still another direction the long-sought passage to India, which was not yet despaired of.

Sebastian Cabot was probably the first European to recognize that a new continent had been found. The great discoverer, Columbus, died in the belief that he had reached some part of the eastern coast of Asia, and little dreamed of the powerful nations and magnificent cities that would displace the savages and the forests of the New World.

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS.

Religious and mercenary motives of the Spaniards—Slavery—Darien settled—Balboa discovers the Pacific—Ponce de Leon and Florida—Yucatan—Cortes conquers Mexico—Magellan circumnavigates the globe—D'Ayllon—Expedition of Narvaez—Concluded under the leadership of De Vaca—Pizarro's conquest of Peru—De Soto discovers the Mississippi—His death—The Huguenots in Florida—Their massacre by Menendez—St. Augustine founded—Coronado, Cabrillo, and Espejo—Santa Fé founded—Portuguese explorations—Cortereal—Relations between the Spaniards and Indians.

A new world having been discovered, there were many hardy adventurers to follow in the footsteps of Columbus and explore the lands he had made known.

The western nations of Europe naturally took the lead in sending out expeditions. The new lands being inhabited by races of lower civilization than Europeans and of a heathen religion, were considered fair subjects for conquest. The expeditions took formal possession of the territories they explored in the name of their native governments, and seemed to consider the wealth they found in Central and South America as the just reward for their enterprise and the introduction of their civilization and religion.

But the religious motives which actuated Columbus shortly gave place to mercenary ones, and religion served chiefly as an excuse for conquest and extermination. The colonies that were planted in the West Indies employed Indians as slaves to carry on the hard labor, and thousands of natives were brought from the main-land to perish miserably in slavery.

The King of Spain at this period, Charles V., was at the same time Emperor of Germany and one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe, and Spain took an early and leading part in exploring the New World, pushing out in all directions, north, west, and south, from the West Indies. But her emissaries were cruel and rapacious, and incurred the hatred and vengeance of the natives to a greater degree than those of any other nation.

After exploring and colonizing the West Indies the Spaniards pushed over to the main-land, and their first colony was founded at Darien in 1510. In 1513 the governor of that colony, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, ascended the mountains on the isthmus and was the first European to see from American shores the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean. He descended to the strand, waded into the water, and with drawn sword claimed the sea and all the lands it washed for Spain.

The first attempts at exploration within the present limits of the United States were made by Juan Ponce de Leon, a rich but old cavalier, who, having heard traditions of a fountain of youth, fitted out a private expedition to find the rejuvenating waters. He sailed from Porto Rico, and on Easter Sunday, 1512, came in sight of a shore beautiful with tropical verdure. Easter was called by the Spaniards *Pasqua Florida* (the Feast of Flowers), and partly in honor of the day and partly because of the luxuriant vegetation that met his eyes he called the land Florida. He landed a few days later near the present site of St. Augustine and claimed the country for the Spanish crown, in the possession of which it remained for over three centuries. He of course failed to find the fountain which was the object of his search, though he explored the coast southward to the Tortugas.

Charles V., king of Spain, appointed him governor

of Florida and sent him thither again to plant a colony. When he landed, in 1521, he was attacked by the Indians, his men were defeated, and he himself received his death-wound.

In 1517 Yucatan was discovered by Fernandez de Cordova, and in 1519 Hernando Cortes was sent by the Governor of Cuba with about 800 men to conquer Mexico. The emperor of that country, Montezuma, a powerful and rich monarch, sent embassadors with costly presents to entreat him not to penetrate the country. He nevertheless burned his ships behind him and pushed forward on an exploit that proved to be one of the most romantic in history.

He entered the City of Mexico in November and remained for some time in the splendid and opulent capital. At last, perhaps fearing that his small force might be overwhelmed by the hosts of natives who swarmed around them, he seized Montezuma on some pretext as a hostage for the safety of the Spaniards. He forced the emperor to declare himself a vassal of Charles V., to pay at once a princely sum of gold, and to promise an annual tribute to Spain.

Then learning that Narvaez had been sent to deprive him of his command, he left part of his troops in the capital and marched with the remainder to surprise his fellow-countryman. Having effected this object against a largely superior force, he persuaded the defeated Spaniards to follow him in his return to Mexico.

There he found that a conflict had arisen between the natives and the soldiers he had left, who were saved from great danger by the arrival of Cortes. A long struggle now commenced, during which, on one occasion, Cortes forced Montezuma to appear before his subjects and advise them to lay down their arms. As a reward for the emperor's lack of courage and patriotism, he was struck down by his own people

and died soon after. Then a pitched battle was fought, in which victory fell to the Spaniards.

Finally Cortes laid siege to the city, which bravely held out for several months; but the end came at length, and in August, 1521, Cortes entered the capital as a conqueror and Spain came into possession of a new and valuable province.

About this time an event occurred which deserves to be mentioned, not because it is directly connected with the history of the United States, but because it furnished a practical proof for the correctness of the theories of Columbus, and because it is a striking example of the enterprise of Spain in the line of discovery.

Fernando Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese sailor, failing to find support in his own land, secured from Spain the command of a squadron, with which he started in 1519 to circumnavigate the globe. He touched at Brazil, skirted the coast of South America, passed through the straits that bear his name, and then pushed out into the Pacific Ocean, the eastern part of which had never before been divided by a European keel. He reached one of the Philippine Islands, where he was killed by the natives.

Some of his ships had to be deserted here as no longer seaworthy, but his men were transferred to a single vessel, which continued the voyage and reached home in 1522. This vessel, the *Vitoria*, was the first to actually circumnavigate the globe, but Magellan himself had previously, in sailing eastward, reached the same longitude in which he died, and so had himself been entirely around the world.

In 1520 d'Ayllon set out to kidnap natives on the Bahamas to serve as slaves on Spanish plantations in the West Indies. He was driven northward by a storm and reached the coast of South Carolina. While many of the natives were on board the ships,

examining the wonders of European skill and power, he treacherously carried them off. Being made governor of this territory, he attempted to land again in 1525, but the Indians, who remembered his treachery, fought with such fury and killed so many of his men that he was forced to give up his attempt.

The same Narvaez who had been sent to replace Cortes, but suffered defeat at his hands instead, was made governor of Florida, which embraced a much larger territory than the state now known by that name. In 1528 he landed at Tampa Bay and struck inland, expecting to find wealthy nations which might be plundered. But in place of these he found only a wilderness of swamps and forests and a few wretched villages. Suffering, disaster, and death waited upon his command till they reached the coast at St. Mark's. Failing to find the ships they expected, they built some poor vessels and sailed for the Mexican settlements, only to be buffeted by storms and finally cast again on the inhospitable shore somewhere to the west of the Mississippi.

Their leader was now dead, but De Vaca, who had been his lieutenant, led them westward till himself and three other survivors of this ill-fated expedition came, in 1536, through constant suffering and danger, to the Pacific coast and were taken to the City of Mexico, where they found themselves once more among their countrymen.

Spanish enterprise meanwhile had been active in another direction. What Cortes had done in Mexico Francisco Pizarro had commenced in Peru. The land of the Incas surpassed even Mexico in wealth and civilization. Pizarro visited it in 1524 and 1526 with small bands, but having obtained the right of conquest and the title of governor from Charles V., he started in 1531 with 180 men on an expedition that resulted finally in achieving the desired ends. Pizarro

was courageous but cruel and cunning, and it was not without treachery that his small force subdued a mighty empire and plundered its wealth. He was killed by conspirators in 1541.

One of the companions of Pizarro was Fernando De Soto, a distinguished cavalier who had begun his career as an explorer at an early age. He returned to Spain before the death of Pizarro, rich with the spoils of the conquered country, and was received by Charles V. with the greatest distinction. The marvels that De Vaca narrated of his wanderings attracted De Soto's attention to Florida, and he asked and obtained permission from the king to conquer this indefinitely large region. His undertaking aroused the greatest enthusiasm in Spain, and there was no lack of noble cavaliers eager to follow his leadership. He chose 600 of the most promising knights, with numerous officers and priests. The expedition, rich in armor and accouterments, abundantly provided with everything that could be thought of, and excited by the wildest dreams of wealth and adventure, left Spain in the year 1538.

De Soto touched at Cuba, and leaving his wife there with the other ladies of the company, sailed around into the Gulf of Mexico, and in the early summer of 1539 landed in the neighborhood of Tampa Bay. He slowly followed the coast northward, and in October settled for the winter near the site of Tallahassee, sending out several exploring expeditions.

Spring came at last and brought new hope to his men, who were disappointed at finding only tangled forests in place of wealthy empires. The Indians told them marvelous stories of a rich country to the northeast. De Soto, firm in his determination to find gold or see the poverty of the land with his own eyes, led them on. They went as far as South Carolina in this direction without finding the object of their aims,

then turned westward, passing through the upper parts of Georgia and Alabama, and at last, wandering down the valleys of the Coosa and the Alabama rivers, came in the fall of this year, 1540, to a fortified Indian village where the city of Mobile now stands. Here they fought one of the severest battles ever waged between Europeans and Indians. The latter lost 2,500 men and the Spaniards suffered by the death of eighteen men, the wounding of many more, and the destruction of their baggage and a number of their horses.

De Soto was a proud man and steadfast of purpose, and notwithstanding the circumstances in which he found himself, refused all help from the vessels sent from Cuba with supplies to the coast of Florida. He turned northward again, experiencing severe weather and suffering from lack of provisions. He wintered in the northern part of Mississippi, and in the spring of 1541 had another sharp conflict with the natives. The Chickasaws surprised his camp during the night and set fire to the Indian village which De Soto had occupied. But the Spaniards once more came out victorious, though not unscathed.

Their temper, however, was not yet subdued, and after supplying themselves as best they could with food and clothing, they turned their faces westward. Somewhere in the northern part of the present state of Mississippi, on an unknown date in the early part of 1541, the "Great Father of Waters" was first seen by Europeans. De Vaca, it will be remembered, had missed the river, passing around its mouth in his rude boats. On the banks of the Mississippi De Soto was delayed for some weeks before transports could be built to ferry over the horses, but finally his command crossed the river and continued their journey.

To the north and west they went, touching, prob-

ably, our present state of Missouri and Indian Territory, and thence southward till they came to the hot springs of Arkansas. The winter was spent in this neighborhood, and in the spring they followed the valleys of the Washita and Red rivers to the Mississippi. There De Soto, disappointed in his hopes, crushed by his misfortunes, despairing at last of success, conscience-stricken, let us hope, at the frightful cruelties and wrong that had been inflicted on the Indians, fell victim to a deadly fever. In May, 1542, his followers, with solemn rites, committed his body to the mighty river he had discovered.

The surviving Spaniards now turned again to the west in the attempt to reach their brethren in Mexico, but after continuing till their progress was barred by mountains, they returned once more to the Mississippi. Here they spent several months in the arduous task of building boats without the proper means at their command. When these were completed they embarked, sailed down the river, and coasting along the gulf to the southwest, came at last in September, 1543, to the Spanish settlements in Mexico, a company of forlorn, weary, miserable travelers, hardly half the number of the proud and splendid army that had left Spain five years and a half before. The most romantic story of the early exploration of our country was brought to a close.

A score of years now passed, during which Florida received little attention from the Spaniards. The Huguenots, or French Protestants, flying from persecution at home, had made a settlement on the St. John's River. To drive out these invaders from territory claimed by Spain, to destroy the adherents of a hated religion, and to plant a Spanish colony, were the objects which led Philip II. of Spain to send out an expedition under Pedro Menendez de Aviles.

Menendez was a man of savage nature, well fitted

to accomplish the desired results. He took with him 2,600 men and reached Florida on St. Augustine's day, 1565. In honor of that saint the town was named whose foundations were laid on the 8th of September. This was the first town and the first permanent settlement that were established within the present limits of the United States.

Menendez now turned his attention to the Huguenots. The French vessels had put out to give battle to the Spaniards but were wrecked by a storm. Menendez, falling suddenly on the Huguenot settlement, swept it out of existence and destroyed every man, woman, and child but a few who escaped. The crews of the wrecked vessels were also discovered and treacherously murdered in cold blood. The French fort was renamed San Mateo and was afterward the scene where the French exacted bitter vengeance from the Spaniards for this atrocity.

Besides these famous expeditions whose history has been given, there were various other explorations made by the Spaniards. Coronado, starting in 1540, traveled northward from Mexico for a considerable distance; Cabrillo sailed in 1542 along the Pacific coast as far as Oregon; and in 1582 Espejo explored the territory which he named New Mexico and founded Santa Fé, the second oldest town in the United States.

Portugal was as slack as Spain was active in the work of exploration within the limits of the United States. There is but one Portuguese expedition that deserves mention, and this was only of minor importance, as it led to no Portuguese hold on the territory of this Union.

Gaspar Cortereal reached our shores in 1501 in the neighborhood of Maine, and thence coasted several hundred miles to the north before icebergs barred his course. He gave the name of Labrador to the region

that is so known, and kidnaping a number of Indians for slaves returned to Spain. Setting forth on a second voyage for the same purpose, he was never heard of again.

Having concluded this sketch of the Spanish explorations, we shall henceforth have little to do with the Spaniards. We have seen the energy with which they followed up the discoveries of Columbus, and we have followed the expeditions which had now explored the southern and southeastern parts of the United States and much of the vast region west of the Mississippi. Their persistence, their courage, and their sufferings make the story of these undertakings read like a romance, but the glory of their achievements is dimmed by the heartless cruelty with which they tortured and massacred the Indians, plundered them without mercy, and carried them away to a life of slavery. It was the memory of this ferocity which in large measure contributed to make the red man consider the pale-face as his mortal enemy.

We now come to the French, English, and Dutch explorations, which have so much more to do with the vital part of our history.

CHAPTER V.

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS.

Verrazzano—Cartier's voyages to the St. Lawrence—Roberval—Religious dissensions in Europe—Coligni's colonies—Ribault discovers Port Royal—Laudonnière leads a colony to Florida—Their massacre—The revenge of De Gourgues—La Roche's colony on Sable Island—De Monts plants a colony in Acadia—Champlain—Founds Quebec—Discovers Lake Champlain—The Jesuits—Raymbault on the great lakes—Joliet and Marquette explore the Mississippi—La Salle—Descends the Mississippi—Leads a French colony—His death—Biloxi founded—Relations of Spaniards and Frenchmen with the Indians compared.

The French were first attracted to America by the vast shoals of cod and other fish which the early voyagers had seen. Before the death of Columbus, French fishermen had found the banks of Newfoundland teeming with the objects of their search. The accounts they gave of their visits to the new land, and the Indians who were sometimes brought over to France, attracted the attention of the king, Francis I. He commissioned Giovanni Verrazzano, or Verrazani, a Florentine navigator, to conduct an expedition for the discovery of the northwest passage. The accounts of Verrazzano and his voyage have not passed without question among historians, though accepted by many. He is said, at an earlier period in his career than the one we now speak of, to have captured a ship laden with the treasure which Cortes had obtained in Mexico and was sending home to Spain. Now having been commissioned by the French king on this new expedition, he is supposed to have set

sail in 1524 and reached the American shore in the neighborhood of Cape Fear. Thence he sailed for some distance to the south, but soon turned northward and coasted as far as Newfoundland. He entered the harbors of New York and Newport and carefully examined the coast. He commenced trading operations with the natives at various points in his journey, finding the southern Indians kind and hospitable but the northern ones more chary of intercourse. On his return to France he published the story of his adventures, which has provoked much discussion as to its authenticity and truth. His explorations were the basis of the claim that the French made to this territory, which they called New France.

The next name of prominence in the annals of French exploration is that of Jacques Cartier. Francis fitted out two vessels, and with these Cartier reached Newfoundland in 1534, after a speedy passage of twenty days. He rounded Newfoundland and took possession of Labrador. Then turning south he passed Anticosti, and on the shore of Gaspé Bay set up the cross and the *fleur-de-lis*, the emblems of Catholicism and of France. He next entered the St. Lawrence River, not yet so named, however, and ascended its broad waters for a considerable distance, after which he returned home to avoid a winter in this bleak climate.

An attempt was now made to plant a colony in New France, and Cartier received command of another expedition with this object in view. Leaving France in 1535 he again reached Newfoundland, and this time gave the name of St. Lawrence to part of the gulf in honor of the saint whose day it was. The name was afterward extended to the whole gulf and the river that empties into it.

The vessels sailed up the St. Lawrence River nearly to the present site of Quebec. There he heard from

the Indians of a town further up the river which he determined to visit. In his boats he ascended the stream till he came to the village, on an island. He climbed the high hill which rose above the town, and struck with the beauty and grandeur of the scene spread out before him, he named the elevation Mont Réal (Mount Royal). It was on this island that the city of Montreal was afterward built.

Returning to his ships, he spent the winter there. A score of his men died with the scurvy and the remainder suffered extremely from the unaccustomed cold. In the spring the survivors gladly returned to France, bringing away with them by treachery an Indian chief. On this voyage more territory was brought into the possession of France, but there was no enthusiasm over a land that seemed to be destitute of wealth and to have such a harsh climate.

Several years passed before another attempt was made to colonize New France. Then Cartier was sent on his third voyage, though this time nominally under the leadership of a French nobleman, De la Roque, lord of Roberval. The sufferings which the last expedition had undergone made it difficult to secure volunteers who desired to make their homes in the rugged land. Finally some one hit on the expedient of offering pardon to all prisoners except counterfeiters and traitors who would become colonists. Of course there was no lack of these, and Cartier set sail in 1541 with a company largely composed of this unpromising material.

Near the spot where Quebec now stands a fort named Charlesbourg was erected. During the winter there was much suffering from the weather, and also from the Indians, who remembered the Frenchman's perfidy on his last voyage in kidnaping their chief. By the time summer came the colonists were ready to return home, and Cartier sailed back. He was met

by Roberval arriving with three ships, but pursued his homeward journey. Roberval remained, but one winter was enough for this company also, and the next year, 1543, they returned to France without accomplishing anything of value. Roberval afterward commanded another expedition, from which no news was ever received.

From this time on we shall hear much of religious dissensions in the nations of Europe. Luther and Calvin had thoroughly inaugurated the Reformation, and Protestants now constituted important bodies in Germany, Holland, France, and England. In France they were followers of Calvin, and were called Huguenots. Their numbers and influence were considerable, and their political fortunes rose and fell at different times, but for the most part they were persecuted by the Catholics, who constituted the larger and generally more influential party in the state. One of their number was Coligni, the distinguished admiral of France. He formed the plan of establishing a colony in New France that should afford a peaceful home for the brethren of his faith. He secured the necessary permission from the king, Charles IX., and Jean Ribault was chosen as the commander of the expedition. He touched the coast of Florida in 1562, where he set up a block of stone appropriately marked, to bear witness of French claim to the territory. Then sailing northward he discovered and named Port Royal. Again he set up the mark of French dominion, and built a fort which he named, after Charles IX., Carolina (from the Latin *Carolus*, Charles). The English afterward applied this name to the whole coast in that vicinity, though in honor of their own king of the same name.

Leaving hardly more than a score of men to guard the fort, Ribault returned to France for more men and supplies. But religious dissensions prevented

his immediate return. The company he had left at Port Royal remained during the winter, but the next spring, after mutinying and killing their commander, they made a small vessel as best they could and started for home. After suffering for a long time, driven hither and thither by storms, and short of food, they were fortunately saved by an English ship and carried to their native land.

The disastrous result of this attempt did not prevent Coligni from renewing his endeavors. In 1564 Laudonnière was sent to plant a colony. He reached the St. John's River, in Florida, and erected a fort, also named Carolina. The men who composed Laudonnière's command were of poor material for establishing a colony. Some of them deserted, and turning pirates, roved the seas till they were captured and hung. The others were shiftless and disappointed in their hopes. Finally Laudonnière saw that it was useless to continue in his attempt with such men to support him and decided to return home. Everything was in readiness for their departure, when Ribault appeared in 1565 with supplies and restored confidence in the enterprise. Just after this the Spaniard Menendez arrived, and soon the colony, which had renewed its lease of life, was blotted out of existence in the cruel way we recounted in the last chapter.

The French king took no steps to avenge the murder of his subjects. This was left to the enterprise of Dominique de Gourgues. Stirred by the massacre of his countrymen, he turned his property into money, prepared three vessels almost unaided, and sailed for Florida in 1567. He captured with his small band three Spanish forts on the St. John's River, and then, fearing that the Spanish colony at St. Augustine might attack him with a superior force, he hanged his prisoners. Menendez had placed over the bodies

of the Frenchmen he had murdered the inscription, "Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." De Gourgues, therefore, inscribed above his victims, "Not as Spaniards, but as murderers." De Gourgues now returned home. Spain demanded that he be given to her for punishment, but France refused to deliver him to death. Thus end the attempts of France to colonize the southern part of the American coast.

In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche led an expedition made up, as the third of Cartier's had been, of convicts. He landed at Sable Island, near the shore of Nova Scotia, one of the most barren spots on the Atlantic coast. There he left forty men and sailed back to France to procure, as he said, more colonists and provisions, but he died soon after his return home and his colony was neglected. They remained on this bleak island for seven years, until they were taken off by a passing vessel and carried back to their native land.

A more successful attempt was made in 1604 by De Monts. He had obtained an extensive grant in the territory claimed by France, with the monopoly of the fur-trade and freedom to the Huguenots in the exercise of their religion. He reached the Bay of Fundy, and after some uncertainty and an attempt to settle at the mouth of the St. Croix River, in 1605 established the first permanent French colony in America on the spot in Nova Scotia where the city of Annapolis now stands. The settlement was originally called Port Royal, and the whole country on both sides of the Bay of Fundy was named Acadia.

The French were first attracted to America by the fisheries, as we have seen, but they now saw an additional advantage to be gained in trading with the natives for furs, which would be useful to their extensive hat-manufacturing interests. Samuel de

Champlain was therefore employed by a company of merchants to lead the way in the new enterprise. Champlain, under a royal commission, sailed up the St. Lawrence River in 1603, and on his return to France published an account of his voyage. The next year he accompanied De Monts on his expedition, in the course of which Champlain sailed as far south as Cape Cod.

Once more he visited America, this time in 1608. He now founded Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, choosing an admirable and almost impregnable site for the town. In 1609 he followed the Huron Indians and their allies in Canada against the Iroquois, and did good service for his friends with his gun, thus securing the permanent friendship of the Canadian Indians for the French and the undying hostility of the Five Nations. On this expedition he discovered the lake that bears his name.

Champlain made various other voyages between France and his colony. He engaged again in warfare with friendly Indians against hostile tribes, and on one occasion was severely wounded. He endeavored in vain to find a passage between the St. Lawrence River and Hudson Bay, which had now been discovered. He established trade on a firm basis between the white and the red man. He pointed out the vast field for Christian work among the hordes of heathen who inhabited the forests, and encouraged the Jesuits to send missionaries among them.

In 1629 Quebec was captured by an English fleet during a quarrel between France and England, and Champlain was made prisoner. The colony was shortly restored to the French, however, and Champlain returned to it again. He founded a college and developed the missionary work and the resources of the colony, leaving behind him at last a noble record of unselfish and energetic work in French coloniza-

tion. It was Champlain who finally established the French in a firm position in America, and so led the way to their future explorations in the interior of the continent.

These inland explorations were due almost entirely to the untiring energy and zeal of the Jesuits. The motives which led the pioneers of civilization to push their way along the chain of great lakes and down the valley of the Mississippi were the spirit of discovery, the increase of trade with the natives, and very largely the desire to convert them to the Catholic faith.

In 1641 Charles Raymbault, the earliest of these explorers, passed through Lake Huron and continued to the further shores of Lake Superior. By 1673 Jesuit missions had been established at various points on the northern and southern shores of the great lakes. In that year Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette left Mackinaw with five other Frenchmen, reached the Wisconsin River by the Fox River and a portage, and descended to the Mississippi. This stream they followed as far down as the mouth of the Arkansas River. Satisfied by this time that the Mississippi flowed on till it reached the Gulf of Mexico, and fearing capture by hostile Indians, they turned their faces to the north, and reached Green Bay by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan.

Joliet returned to Quebec, but Marquette remained in the wilderness preaching the Gospel to the Indians. He struggled on in his arduous undertaking through exposure, danger, and illness, dying at last on the banks of a small river on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan that still bears his name.

The story of this journey stirred the spirit of adventure in the breast of Robert de la Salle, a name destined to become as inseparably connected with the Mississippi and romantic history as that of De Soto. He obtained the monopoly of the fur-trade with the

Five Nations in New York, his grant including Fort Frontenac, which had previously been established on the present site of Kingston, Ontario. He heard such stories from the Indians that he desired to explore the country and rivers to the west. He went to France, obtained permission to carry on explorations for five years, to build forts, and to exercise the exclusive trade in buffalo skins. He therefore organized an expedition in 1679, constructed the first ship ever seen above Niagara Falls, and sailed through the lakes to Green Bay. Thence he proceeded to the southern part of Lake Michigan and, through the St. Joseph, a portage, and the Kankakee, reached the Illinois River. He now met with various misfortunes and was obliged to return to Frontenac in the early part of 1680, an arduous march of over 1,000 miles, which he made with few companions.

From the Illinois, however, Father Henenpin had been sent still further westward, and he ascended the Mississippi till he reached and named the Falls of St. Anthony.

But La Salle had not accomplished all he desired. Freshly equipped he returned to the Illinois, and in the early part of 1682 started down that stream. He descended the Mississippi to its mouth, taking possession of the territory which he passed in the name of France and calling it Louisiana, after his king, Louis XIV. He returned over the same route, reached Quebec in 1683, and thence proceeded to France.

France occupied a splendid position in Europe at this time and thought to achieve additional power and grandeur by planting a new empire in America. An effort was made to settle the Mississippi valley, the resources of which La Salle had vividly described. Four vessels, bearing 280 people under Beaujeu as commander of the fleet and La Salle as governor of the colony, sailed in 1684 for the mouth of the Mississippi.

By neglect of La Salle's advice the mouth of that river was missed, and after one or two stops the company was landed at Matagorda Bay, on the coast of Texas. The ship which carried the supplies had been wrecked and Beaujeu soon sailed away. La Salle was left in a destitute condition with perhaps 250 colonists. For nearly two years the brave leader struggled manfully to make the colony a success, building Fort St. Louis and trying to cultivate the ground, but misfortunes crowded thick upon him and reduced the number of his companions to about forty. Attempts to find the Mississippi on the one hand and the gold mines of New Mexico on the other were alike fruitless. At last, in January, 1687, with sixteen comrades, leaving the remainder of the party in Fort St. Louis, he started for the Illinois. For two months he marched northward till he reached the Trinity River, Texas. On the banks of that stream he was treacherously shot by one of his companions who had long been mutinous. So ended the life of the man who had given France her claim to the Mississippi valley—a man of high spirit, undaunted courage, and keen intellect; of boldness, perseverance, and energy.

Only seven of his comrades on this march survived to reach a French settlement on the Mississippi. Those who had been left in Fort St. Louis were mostly killed by the Indians.

After Biloxi, now in the state of Mississippi, was founded by Lemoine d'Iberville in 1699, France may be considered to have had a firm hold on the vast province of Louisiana, which far exceeded the limits of the state now known by that name. This territory, held by France, by Spain, and afterward by France again, did not come into the possession of the United States till 1803.

France held Nova Scotia till 1713 and the balance of her colonies in Canada till 1763, when she was

obliged to yield them to Great Britain by the force of events which we shall trace later on.

The history of the dealing with the Indians by Spaniards and Frenchmen furnishes a striking contrast. The former seemed to think chiefly of conquest, and they bore themselves arrogantly, caring little whether they made allies or enemies of the natives; the latter desired to effect permanent settlements for trading purposes, and they did their best to make friends of the Indians. The one nationality massacred, tortured, and enslaved; the other tried to convert, educate, and trade. The Spaniard stood aloof in his pride and armor; the Frenchman entered the Indian's wigwam and shared his blanket. As a result the Spaniards incurred the hatred of the natives and caused a wholesale distrust of the pale-face, while the French, wherever they went, made allies, with whom they had extensive trading relations and whom they could wield with terrible power against a foe. Such were the characteristic methods, though not without exceptions in individual cases or modifications later on, which these two nations followed. Their effect bears considerably on the settlements of the English which we are now to review, because the early settlers of that people fell under the suspicion of the natives which Spain had done so much to cause, and the colonists at a later period suffered frightfully at the hands of the Indian allies of the French.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS.

England's delay in colonizing—Frobisher's voyages—Drake circumnavigates the globe—Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition—His death—Raleigh's colonies—Amidas and Barlow—Grenville and Lane—The Invincible Armada—The "Lost Colony of Roanoke"—Tobacco and potatoes—Gosnold—Pring—Weymouth—English claims to territory.

We have already described the voyages of the Cabots, father and son. For three-quarters of a century after this England did little or nothing to explore the country which these hardy navigators had made known. The cause of their inactivity is not far to seek. Soon after the discovery of America the pope had issued a bull, exercising the almost unlimited authority which was at that time generally conceded to him in temporal as well as spiritual matters, by which he assigned to Spain all the land which had been or might be discovered beyond an imaginary line 300 miles to the west of the Azores. The French monarchs, although Catholics, did not yield their obedience to this bull, as we have seen. "I should like to see," said Francis I., "the clause in Adam's will which disinherits me in the New World." But England was not so bold. Henry VII., a Catholic king, respected the papal authority. During the reign of his successor, Henry VIII., the English Reformation took place, and the decree of the pope lost its binding force on England. It was not, however, till Elizabeth had come to the throne and a marvelous spirit of activity in every direction mani-

fested itself that England once more commenced her explorations.

The world still entertained hopes of finding the long-sought passage to India by sailing around the new continent. Martin Frobisher was put in command of three vessels and dispatched in 1576 on this quest. One of the ships was lost and the second returned to England with a faint-hearted crew, but Frobisher pursued his journey and succeeded in reaching the highest latitude yet known to Europeans in this quarter of the globe. Beyond giving his name to Frobisher Bay, however, and bringing back with him a stone which was said to contain gold, he accomplished nothing.

Aroused by the hope of gold, a new fleet was dispatched the next year under the same commander but the men were fearful in the midst of the icebergs and other dangers which surrounded them, and the expedition returned without the precious metal.

In 1578, with more exaggerated hopes than ever, fifteen vessels were provided by the queen and others, and Frobisher was sent again to plant a colony and bring back gold. The vessels reached the land which Frobisher had named Meta Incognita and took on board cargoes of earth which was supposed to contain the gold. Now the provision ship deserted them, storms played havoc with the vessels, and their hearts failing, the expedition returned home. It is hardly necessary to say that their dreams of gold were fruitless.

A famous name on the pages of England's maritime history is that of Sir Francis Drake. He was a bold and adventurous sailor who had grown rich by plundering the merchant ships of Spain, which most Englishmen considered fair spoils for their prowess. In 1577 he sailed to the Pacific coast of South America, pillaged the Spanish settlements in Chili and Peru,

and added to his fortune by the seizure of Spanish vessels—a course which in these enlightened days would be considered little better than piracy. Then he sailed up the coast, which he named New Albion, as far as Oregon, in the hope of finding a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, but here his project was abandoned, and after circumnavigating the globe he returned home and was knighted in recognition of his enterprise.

Attempts were now made to colonize the New World. Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained the necessary commission from Queen Elizabeth. With his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, he started on an expedition, but returned to England without making land.

In 1583 Gilbert sailed again with five vessels Raleigh was unable to accompany him on this voyage, but helped in fitting out the fleet. Hardly had they set sail when one of their vessels deserted and returned home. But with the others Gilbert kept on his course and reached Newfoundland. Here the expedition became somewhat disorganized. Some of the men devoted their time to accumulating a shining earth which they thought contained silver. Others turned pirates and attacked the vessels on the fishing-grounds. One of the ships became unseaworthy. Gilbert, however, having succeeded at last in restoring some order in his company, sailed southward with the three vessels which remained. On the coast of Massachusetts one of these was lost with a hundred men The expedition now started back to England in two frail vessels, in the worst of which, the *Squirrel*, Gilbert himself sailed, refusing to leave those who had been his companions in previous dangers. A terrible storm arose, but the vessels kept together for a time. Gilbert was heard to shout to the crew of his consort, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." That night the lights on the *Squirrel* suddenly disap-

peared and not a soul of all on board was saved. Longfellow has worthily commemorated this brave-hearted sailor in his poem of "Sir Humphrey Gilbert."

The other vessel reached England. Not deterred by the dreadful tale it brought back, Raleigh obtained a patent from Elizabeth making him lord proprietor of the territory from the thirty-third to the fortieth degree of latitude, and he dispatched an expedition under Amidas and Barlow in 1584.

These commanders explored Roanoke Island and Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, and shortly returned to England with glowing accounts of the country and the natives. The virgin queen, Elizabeth, named the territory "Virginia" and knighted her favorite, Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh was now a member of Parliament, where he brought forward a bill confirming and enlarging his patent. Amid popular enthusiasm he prepared another expedition, on which Sir Richard Grenville commanded the seven vessels, and Ralph Lane was governor of the colony. In 1585 the fleet set sail and reached Roanoke Island, where Lane was left with about a hundred colonists. Grenville returned to England, bringing back as a valuable prize a Spanish vessel laden with treasure which he had captured.

The colonists soon had trouble with the natives. The Indians of a neighboring town committed some trivial offense. The English burnt their village. Then some of the colonists were nearly entrapped by the treachery of the Indians, in return for which several of the Indian chiefs were murdered. The bitter feeling that was thus engendered among the surrounding savages rendered the safety of the colony very precarious, so that when, in 1586, Sir Francis Drake appeared on his way home from one of his

expeditions against the Spanish colonies, the Englishmen were glad to take passage in his ship.

But Raleigh, meanwhile, had not been forgetful of his colony. Within a few days after the colony had abandoned Roanoke a ship laden with provisions reached the site of the settlement, but finding it deserted returned to England. In another fortnight Grenville arrived with three vessels and left fifteen men to retain possession of the island.

The next year, 1587, another attempt was made to establish a permanent colony. Under John White as governor a company composed largely of families arrived at Roanoke. They learned that the fifteen men left there the year before had been murdered by the Indians, but nothing daunted they founded the city of Raleigh.

Hostilities were fiercely waged for a time between the English and the Indians, but peace was finally made, to cement which one of the Indian chiefs was made an English nobleman under the title of Lord of Roanoke. But provisions running short and the colonists still fearing the savages, White was induced to return to England in August for supplies. Shortly before he sailed Virginia Dare was born, the first child of English parents in America. From the day that White left the colony never a word was heard from it or about it.

Philip of Spain and Elizabeth of England were almost continually engaged in war with each other, and the former was now preparing the Invincible Armada to attack England. Every one was occupied with these troubles, and although Raleigh made some effort to relieve his colony, he did not succeed At last, wearied with his unsuccessful endeavors to establish a colony, and after he had spent much money in vain, he transferred his rights to some London merchants.

The armada having been defeated by the English and dispersed by storms, England was relieved from her pressing fear. White was now sent to Roanoke. The island, when he reached it in the spring of 1590, was tenantless of Englishmen. Not a soul of all the colonists was ever seen again, and no satisfactory explanation of their disappearance has ever been given. The "Lost Colony of Roanoke" is as much a mystery to-day as ever.

Sir Walter Raleigh lived for many years to benefit England with his counsel and his sword, as statesman and as soldier, to receive the smile of fortune and her frown. He had exhibited much perseverance and generosity in his colonizing attempts, though his efforts were in vain. His expeditions brought back tobacco and potatoes, unknown in Europe before the discovery of America, but comforts and necessities to-day to millions, and he was one of the first to introduce smoking in England. It is said that a servant unaccustomed to this habit, entering the room one day where Raleigh was smoking, dashed a tankard of ale over his master and shouted loudly for help to prevent him from burning to ashes.

Nothing more of value was done by English explorers during the remaining years of this century. But in 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold visited Massachusetts. Previous navigators had been accustomed to reach America after a roundabout journey by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies. Gosnold was the first to launch boldly forth and reach the New World by the shortest course.

He touched at Cape Cod and was the first Englishman to tread the soil of that part of the coast. Sailing southward, he and his companions disembarked on an island at the entrance of Buzzard's Bay, now known as Cuttyhunk, which he called Elizabeth. A cargo of sassafras-root, valued for its odor and medicinal

properties, was obtained from the natives. Gosnold had purposed to found a colony, but at last took home with him the intended colonists at their earnest solicitation. Later in our history we shall find Gosnold one of the prime movers in establishing the colony of Virginia.

Martin Pring was the next navigator who visited America. He sailed in 1603 with merchandise suitable for bartering with the natives, and coasted along the shores of Maine and Massachusetts till he reached Martha's Vineyard. He also obtained a cargo of sassafras and returned to England.

The last name to which we come before England established her permanent colonies is that of George Weymouth, who in 1605 arrived on the coast of Maine and commenced trading operations with the Indians.

It was in virtue of these explorations which we have narrated that England laid claim to the extensive region lying between Florida on the south and New France on the north, and it was here that she soon established the colonies which grew rapidly and finally, becoming independent, formed themselves into the United States of America.

These permanent English settlements, the first of which was made in 1607, we shall describe in future chapters, delaying our attention for a moment to consider the Dutch discoveries.

CHAPTER VII.

DUTCH EXPLORATIONS.

Henry Hudson—His first two voyages—Sails in the *Half Moon*—Explores the coast—Discovers the Hudson River—Last voyage—Mutiny—His death in Hudson Bay—New Amsterdam founded—Block—Christiansen—Dutch claims to territory.

Sir Henry Hudson was a British navigator and made his first two voyages under the patronage of London merchants. He was confident that a shorter passage than any known one could be found to India either around the northern parts of Europe or America. In 1607 he sailed to Greenland, reached a high latitude and rounded Spitzbergen but then found his way blocked by icebergs and was obliged to return to England In 1608 he tried once more to find a northeast passage but met only with failure.

Finding now that the English merchants were discouraged and would fit out no more expeditions for this object, he went to Holland, then a very active maritime and mercantile country, and offered his services to the Dutch East India Company. His offer was accepted and he was given command of a vessel called the *Half Moon*. In 1609 he sailed on his third voyage to the north. Finding the climate there too severe for his men to stand with safety, he immediately determined to seek in the northwest what he failed to find in the northeast.

He reached the coast of Maine and sailed southward past Cape Cod till he came to the Chesapeake. Turning again to the north he entered Delaware

Bay; then continuing his voyage, he reached New York harbor in September and discovered the mouth of the river that bears his name.

Up the noble stream, unsurpassed by any in the world for the beauty and grandeur of its scenery, Hudson sailed. He hoped at first that he had found the passage that would lead him through to the Pacific, which was much further away than he suspected. He sailed as far as possible in the *Half Moon*, and continued in small boats the exploration of the river above the site of Albany. Then finding that his hopes were groundless, he dropped down the stream, bordered by fertile shores, and spread his sails for Holland.

Putting into an English harbor, his vessel was detained by King James I. on the ground that the crew were Englishmen, but he sent to his employers in Holland an enthusiastic account of his voyage and discoveries.

So successful had been his last voyage that English merchants were glad to equip him for another. In 1610 he set sail, to try in still another quarter to find the passage to India. He passed through the strait that bears his name and entered the vast bay in the northern part of our continent. Here at last he thought he had actually found what he had searched for so long. It was not till his progress was barred by the western shore of the bay that he gave up hope. The weather was severe, his provisions were almost consumed. A little longer, however, and his courage and skill would have brought him safely out of these dangers. But his crew mutinied, and throwing Hudson, with his son and seven loyal sailors, into an open boat, they abandoned them to their fate. The boat was never heard of again, and somewhere on the bordering shores or beneath the waters of Hudson Bay he found his grave.

The Dutch soon sent trading expeditions to the Hudson River, and in 1614, under a grant from the government, a company was sent out who erected a permanent fort on Manhattan Island, which they named New Amsterdam.

In the same year Adrian Block sailed through Long Island Sound and proceeded as far as Cape Cod, giving his name on the way to Block Island. Shortly after, Christiansen built the trading-post of Fort Nassau, a little below Albany. Southward from New Amsterdam explorations were made along the Jersey coast and as far as Delaware Bay.

All the territory between the Chesapeake and Cape Cod, to which was soon given the name of New Netherlands, was now claimed by Holland as the result of these settlements and explorations, though England and France paid little attention to her claims. The Dutch were the last nation to establish a foothold on our shores. With the building of Fort Amsterdam we reach the end of the period of exploration.

CHAPTER VIII.

REVIEW OF THE FIRST PERIOD.

Contemporaneous events—Spain leads the way in discovery—Verrazzano—Narvaez and De Vaca—Cartier and Roberval in the north and De Soto in the south—St. Augustine and Menendez—De Gourgues—Frobisher—Santa Fé founded—Gilbert, Raleigh, and other English navigators—La Roche and De Monts in Canada—Champlain—Hudson—The Jesuits—Jolliet, Marquette, and La Salle—Difficulties of the early explorers—Dangers of the colonists—Trade and relations with the Indians—Conflicting claims of European nations to American territory.

We have found it most convenient hitherto to follow separately the explorations of each nation; but we must not forget that many of these explorations were being pursued in different quarters of our continent at the same time. For the first quarter of a century after the discovery of the main-land Spain had the field to herself, and during that time Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, Balboa, standing on "a peak in Darien," looked down on the mighty Pacific, and Cortes conquered the opulent empire of Mexico.

But by this time the French had been attracted toward America, and in 1524 Verrazzano made his voyage. Then came another Spanish expedition, that started in Florida under Narvaez and ended eight years later on the Pacific coast under the leadership of De Vaca. While this ill-fated expedition was still wandering in the wilds of the southwest, Cartier commenced his series of voyages to the St. Lawrence. In 1541 Cartier set sail on his third voyage and De

Soto discovered the Mississippi. The next year saw the return of Cartier after his failure to plant a colony and the death of De Soto on the banks of the "Great Father of Waters;" while 1543 marks the arrival of the remnants of De Soto's expedition at the Mexican settlements and the end of Roberval's attempt to plant a colony on the St. Lawrence.

A score of years later the Huguenots endeavored to make settlements on the southern part of the Atlantic coast, to which Menendez put a savage end in 1565 by massacring the French and founding St. Augustine. Two years afterward De Gourgues avenged on the Spanish the murder of his countrymen.

More than three-quarters of a century passed after the first voyage of the Cabots before England bestirred herself in the New World. Then Frobisher made his voyages to Baffin's Bay and Drake visited our western coast. In 1582 Santa Fé was founded by the Spanish, and henceforth we hear little of this nation. But England, having once become interested in the work, prosecuted it with vigor. In 1583 Gilbert started on the voyage from which he never came back. Then Raleigh took up the work and made various attempts, though unsuccessful ones, to plant a colony on Roanoke Island. In the early years of the seventeenth century Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth made their voyages, and in 1607, as we shall see directly, England established her first permanent colony.

While these last voyages were going on, the French colony left by La Roche was dragging out its weary existence on Sable Island, and De Monts established in 1605 the first permanent colony of France at Port Royal, now Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. Then Champlain founded Quebec, and at the very time when he was fighting the Iroquois on the shores of Lake Champlain, the *Half Moon* was carrying Henry Hudson up the river that bears his name.

Many years later, during which time the English colonies were increasing in numbers and prosperity, the Jesuits began the exploration of the interior of the continent. Jolliet and Marquette are the first names of importance in this work, and then comes the famous La Salle, who sailed down the Mississippi and in 1687 perished by treachery in the wilderness.

We can hardly appreciate to-day the difficulties which these voyagers and explorers met with and the courage and energy they displayed in overcoming them. In the sixteenth century it was no holiday undertaking to cross in small vessels a wide and stormy ocean, to explore an unknown and in many parts a dangerous coast, and to land and establish colonies with a handful of comrades in the midst of hordes of savages.

But the dangers and obstacles were surmounted one after the other, though not without untold sufferings and the loss of many lives. The Indians fell back before European arms or engaged in trade with the pale-face. The French were singularly successful in securing the friendship of the natives, for reasons which we have previously pointed out, and they soon enjoyed a profitable trade with them. The other nations, too, found some benefit from the mercantile point of view.

Utensils of metal, trinkets, guns, ammunition, liquor, blankets, and other articles were highly prized by the savages and purchased skins far exceeding the value of these articles to Europeans.

But the Indians were not seldom provoked by the rapacity or violence of the settlers into frightful acts of cruelty and revenge. They became more dangerous, too, by reason of the knowledge and weapons which they had obtained from Europeans, so that the establishment of colonies involved not only endurance at first, but a constant struggle with hardship and danger.

Spain, France, England, and Holland, however, now had a firm footing in the New World, though their claims to territory were often mutually disputed and gave rise to much trouble at a later period. Florida, extending somewhat to the north of its present limits and as far west as the Mississippi, was held by Spain. The English claimed the whole coast, which they called Virginia, as far as Labrador, and they refused to recognize the Dutch claim to New Netherlands, the region between Cape May and Cape Cod. The French occupied New France, including Acadia, and by virtue of the explorations of La Salle claimed the whole region of the Mississippi valley. This last claim of course arose at a later period than the others, but it bore serious consequences in the French and Indian War.

Having now traced the explorations of the Spanish, French, and Dutch which gave rise to their territorial claims, and having seen their first permanent colonies established, we must confine ourselves henceforth to the story of the English colonies. Those of other nations we shall speak of from time to time, but only as they come into the range of United States history.

The English explorations we have brought up to the time when the first permanent colony was about to be founded, and with the story of the settlement of Virginia we may now resume our narrative.

Second Period.

Settlement and Growth.

SECOND PERIOD.

SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH.

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE FIRST CHARTER.

The London and Plymouth companies—Their charters—Attempts of the Plymouth Company to establish a colony—The London Company send out an expedition—Newport, Smith, and Wingfield—Jamestown founded—Character of the colonists—Troubles of the settlers—Smith saves the colony from starvation—Explores the Chickahominy—Captured by the Indians—His adventures—Saved from death by Pocahontas—Returns to the settlement—Its condition—More worthless colonists arrive—Smith explores Chesapeake Bay—A brighter prospect.

In the year 1606 King James I. issued two patents to companies of Englishmen giving them the right to own and colonize certain lands in America. To one of these associations, organized in London and therefore known as the London Company, was given the territory extending from the thirty-fourth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The other association, which took the name of the Plymouth Company, from the place of its organization, Plymouth, England, was to have the territory extending from the forty-first to the forty-fifth degree of latitude and also westward to the Pacific. The London grant thus reached from Cape Fear to the present southern boundary of Maryland,

and the other from the neighborhood of New York to Passamaquoddy Bay, and the space between was left free for colonization by either company, with the proviso that rival settlements were not to be made within a hundred miles of each other.

Gosnold, whose name we have already met, was one of the foremost spirits in the London Company, the famous John Smith was another, and there were many callings and conditions of life represented among the members. The charter provided no opportunity for self-government. A Superior Council in England and an Inferior Council in America, the members of each chosen by the king, were to direct the company, but all legislative power was reserved to the crown.

The Plymouth Company made the first attempt at settlement. In a few months after their charter was granted an exploring ship was dispatched which was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. Another vessel, however, sent soon after, spent the winter on our coast. In the next year, 1607, an attempt was made to found a colony. A number of settlers were left on the Kennebec River, who suffered much from cold and lack of food during the winter and returned to England the next summer. And here, for the present, we shall leave the Plymouth Company.

It was the London Company, however, that was destined to plant the first English colony in America.

In December, 1606, three vessels were sent out by this company under the command of Christopher Newport, carrying 105 colonists, among whom were Captain John Smith and Edward Wingfield. Newport, taking the roundabout voyage by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, did not reach our coast till April. Then a storm drove the colonists past Roanoke Island, which was their objective point, into Chesapeake Bay. Entering the James River (named in honor of their king), they disembarked about fifty

miles from its mouth. Here, on the 13th of May, 1607, Jamestown was founded and the first permanent English settlement was begun.

The conduct of the company on the voyage to the New World did not augur well for the success of the colony. The names of the council were contained in sealed instructions, which were not to be opened till their destination was reached. So with no one in authority there was little harmony. Smith was accused of aiming to acquire sole power in the colony and was arrested. At last the end of the journey was reached, the names of the council were discovered, and Wingfield was elected by his fellow-members as governor of Virginia. Smith now demanded a trial, which resulted in his acquittal. He therefore took his seat as a member of the council, to which he had been appointed.

The material composing the colony was of almost the worst possible sort to contend with the necessary hardships. Houses were to be built, ground cultivated, and much manual labor to be performed. The forty-eight gentlemen of the company were not sufficiently balanced by the dozen carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths who were the only common laborers that accompanied the expedition. The remainder of the colonists were lazy and shiftless, and no one had brought his family.

The colony, however, began to settle into some shape, and Smith felt that he could leave it for a short time. So, taking a few men with him, he started on an exploring expedition up the James River. They reached the site of Richmond, which was then occupied by a small village, the residence of the Indian king Powhatan, who received the Europeans kindly. Smith soon led his company back to Jamestown.

A fortnight after his return Newport sailed for

England, with earnest injunctions from Smith to bring back with him sober and steady colonists who were accustomed to manual labor. During the summer the colonists managed to get along comparatively well, but in the early autumn disease broke out among them that reduced their effective strength and, before the frosts of winter checked its progress, carried off Gosnold and half of the colonists.

Nor was this the sole trouble that affected Jamestown. Wingfield and another member of the council were detected in helping themselves from the common store of the colonists and were removed from office. By this time the council was reduced to three members—Ratcliffe, who was chosen president, Martin, and Smith. Ratcliffe was soon detected in endeavoring to abandon the colony and gave up his office. Martin now went through the formality of electing as president his sole remaining colleague, Smith. The new head of the colony was a young man for the responsibility that he was called on to assume, but though only twenty-nine years of age, he had passed a varied life as soldier and traveler in many countries of Europe and had gathered much experience. His ability, wisdom, and energy were now recognized by the colony and soon gave a favorable turn to its affairs. He improved the fortifications and the houses. But there was nothing with which to fill the store-house which he built. He determined to obtain from the Indians the corn which the settlers had failed to raise but which was necessary to their life during the approaching winter.

JOHN SMITH.

He descended the James with a handful of companions and endeavored to obtain the desired food from the Indians by barter. Finding his efforts useless by this means, he attacked the savages and finally forced them into loading his boat with corn, with which he returned to Jamestown. Other tribes now brought in provisions of their own accord, for the past summer had given them a plentiful harvest, and several of these tribes became friends of the English. Game in plenty was found in the woods, and starvation during the winter was no longer feared.

Smith soon started on an exploring tour up the Chickahominy River with six of the colonists and two Indian guides. When the shoaling of the water rendered the further advance of his large boat impossible, he left it, with four Englishmen as a guard, and proceeded in a canoe. This also was brought to a stand-still at length, and leaving his two comrades to watch it, Smith pursued his way on foot with the two guides. The men who were left at the first station, wandering from their charge, were attacked by the Indians and three of them killed. The fourth was tortured till he indicated the course Smith had taken. The savages fell upon and put to death his two comrades further up the stream and then started in pursuit of Smith. He was attacked and wounded, but fought with bravery and the strength of despair till he was finally overcome and captured.

Smith's ingenuity, however, did not desert him. When taken before the Indian chief he excited much awe among the untutored savages by the exhibition of his compass and watch, and interested them by his knowledge of astronomy. At length they tied him to a tree and prepared to shoot him, but he so excited their superstitious fears by a mystic flourishing of his compass that they spared his life for the time being.

He was now taken to an Indian town near Richmond, where he found the natives meditating an attack on Jamestown. He of course refused the invitation they extended to him to assist in their undertaking against his countrymen. He persuaded them, however, to allow him to send a letter to his friends, and this ability of representing his thoughts by writ-

POCAHONTAS.

ten signs added to the awe with which they regarded him. When the Indian messengers reached Jamestown and delivered the letter, the colonists, in accordance with one of the requests it contained, exhibited the force of their weapons and the resources of the settlement, which, poor as they were, wonderfully impressed the messengers. They returned with

stories that frightened the Indians out of their intention to attack the colony.

Smith was taken from place to place and finally condemned to death by the Indian priests. Then he was carried before Powhatan, who confirmed the sentence. Smith was bound and his head placed on a stone. A warrior raised his war-club to dash out his brains. The assembled Indians watched eagerly with ferocious eyes. But moved by some impulse of pity or admiration, Pocahontas, the young daughter of Powhatan, rushed to place herself between Smith and his executioner. Her appeals for the release of the Englishman finally prevailed, and Powhatan ordered him to be unbound. Such, at least, is the dramatic story of Smith's rescue which was told in later years. Much discussion has not sufficed to prove its truth or falsity. It is at all events romantic and touching, and deserves to be repeated for what it is worth because it is familiar to every reader of the history of our country.

Powhatan before long allowed Smith to return to Jamestown. He took with him some of the Indians, and sent them back with a marvelous account of the power of the English.

There were left in the colony now but thirty-eight men, who had suffered extremely during the weeks of Smith's absence. Thoroughly disheartened, they had prepared to leave Jamestown at the opening of spring. Smith forced them to give up this scheme of abandonment, but he excited much enmity thereby. New hope, however, was soon given to the settlement by the arrival of Newport with plentiful provisions and 120 colonists. Despite Smith's requests, men as worthless as the original company had been sent.

A gold-fever soon spread among them, following the finding of dirt that glittered with supposed grains of the precious metal. While the majority of the

colonists were wasting their time in searching for gold and other fruitless experiments, Smith left the colony in the early part of June on an expedition to explore Chesapeake Bay. He took with him fourteen comrades and was gone seven weeks, during which time he cruised as far north as the Patapsco River, in Maryland, and sailed some distance up the Potomac.

After a few days he started on a second cruise over much the same waters. This time he reached the Susquehanna River and sailed up that stream as far as his boat would go. He ascended the Rappahannock also, and returned to Jamestown early in September. He had now explored 3,000 miles of coast in the Chesapeake and made a map of the shore, which is preserved to this day.

On his return to the colony in the fall of 1608 he was formally elected president of the colony, and administered its affairs with energy and discretion. In the autumn Newport arrived with seventy more settlers. Smith carried his colony of more than 200 men through the winter with only seven deaths. Every one was obliged to work, and the colony was at last in as prosperous a condition as possible.

CHAPTER X.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE SECOND AND THIRD CHARTERS.

A second charter granted—De la Ware made governor—Trouble in the colony—Smith is wounded—Leaves Virginia—The "Starving Time"—Sir Thomas Gates—Jamestown deserted—De la Ware arrives—Dale and Gates—A third charter granted—Marriage of Pocahontas—Argall's expedition against the French—Is made deputy-governor—Yeardley's governorship—The house of burgesses—Slavery introduced—Family life begins—A constitution given to Virginia—Indian massacre.

A new charter, which superseded the old one, was given to the London Company by King James in May, 1609. The territory of the company was extended northward to Sandy Hook and had the same extent westward as before, namely, to the Pacific. The stockholders were empowered to elect the members of the Superior Council, who in turn were to choose one of their own members as governor.

In pursuance of this plan Lord De la Ware was elected governor for life and a new lot of colonists were at once sent out. Nine vessels, setting sail in June, 1609, conveyed the 500 emigrants.

The governor himself did not sail in the fleet, but sent three commissioners to represent his authority. One of the vessels was lost, and another, that bore the commissioners, went ashore on the Bermudas, and there its crew remained till the next year. So it fell out that only seven vessels reached Jamestown.

Soon after this new batch of emigrants arrived the affairs of the colony became disorganized. There was

no person legally empowered to represent the new government. Smith was urged to continue in his office of president, and he determined to do so until he was replaced by some authorized person from England. There was considerable dissatisfaction with him, however, and his life was in no little peril. He was therefore obliged to arrest some of the factious spirits, and then planned two new settlements to occupy the attention of the colonists.

One of these settlements was established at the falls of the James River, but trouble arose at once between the English and the Indians. Smith proceeded to the spot to smooth matters over, but he was unsuccessful. On his way back to Jamestown he was severely wounded by an explosion of gunpowder. After suffering intensely for some time, without finding the medical skill which the colony furnished sufficient to effect his cure, he departed for England in September, 1609, leaving Sir George Percy in command of the colony. He never returned to Jamestown, but we shall hear of him again in connection with the Plymouth Company.

Without Smith's able guidance the affairs of the colony, which promised well at his departure, took a downward course. Improvidence and insubordination prevailed. The Indians became bold and attacked the outlying plantations. Provisions were wasted, and a bitter winter brought disease and suffering. This season was long known in the history of Virginia as the "Starving Time." In March there remained but sixty persons of the 499 whom Smith had left six months before.

Such was the pitiable state of the colony when it received some slight encouragement by the arrival of the men who had been wrecked on the Bermudas the previous year. Sir Thomas Gates, one of the commissioners whom Lord De la Ware had appointed, was

among them. He took the reins of government into his own hands, but the colonists were worn out with their struggles for life during the past winter and insisted on abandoning Jamestown. So clamorous was their appeal that the commissioners finally agreed to give up the colony and to sail for Newfoundland, where they hoped to find vessels to convey them back to England. They themselves had nothing large and staunch enough to stand a voyage across the Atlantic.

It was the 8th day of June, 1610. The colonists attempted to burn the village, which had grown hateful to them with its memory of suffering and death, but were prevented by Gates. Then embarking in their small vessels they left Jamestown behind them, as they supposed, forever.

But a surprise was in store for them. At the mouth of the James they caught sight of vessels sent from England with more colonists and supplies and bearing the governor, Lord De la Ware, himself. With him they returned to Jamestown on the same day which they had thought marked its final abandonment.

Lord De la Ware was a man of fine character. He ruled the colony kindly though firmly and was liked by all the settlers. But in the autumn he was compelled to return to England by sickness, leaving in command, as Smith had done, Sir George Percy.

Before the Superior Council, however, heard of his departure for home, they had sent out more colonists and provisions. Sir Thomas Dale led this expedition, and on reaching Jamestown in May, 1611, he superseded Percy by virtue of his commission from the council.

Dale was a soldier and established a military system of government, but his justice and fairness prevented any trouble. He saw the necessities of the colony at once and promptly wrote the council for

re-enforcements of men and supplies. In response to this request Sir Thomas Gates was sent to the colony as governor with six ships.

The colonists now numbered 700. The land, which had heretofore been held in common by the colonists, was apportioned, so that each might have some to call his own. Under this arrangement they took more of a personal interest in the success of the settlement. Smaller colonies were established on the James, and Virginia entered on the period of its growth.

A further benefit now accrued to the colony, more, however, from its tendency toward a representative government than from its immediate results. This was a third charter, which was granted by King James in 1612. The Superior Council was dispensed with and the stockholders of the London Company were empowered to hold meetings, to discuss the affairs of the colony, and to govern it directly themselves.

To return to Jamestown. In 1613 Pocahontas was kidnaped by Captain Argall and brought to the settlement. Powhatan was informed that he must pay a ransom for his daughter's release. Incensed by this insult and injury, he prepared for war. But Pocahontas was in the meantime converted to Christianity and baptized. Her hand was then sought in marriage by one of the colonists, John Rolfe by name. Powhatan consented to the marriage and thus was made an ally of the colony. Rolfe afterward took his wife to England, where she was presented at court and attracted favorable attention. She did not live long, however, but left a son, who afterward returned to Jamestown and became a prominent man in Virginia, where he founded a family that was noted in later times.

Meanwhile Captain Argall had been sent to put an end to French colonization between Massachusetts

and Nova Scotia, so that the coast might be left clear for the operations of English fishermen. He succeeded in destroying a French settlement on Mount Desert Island. On a second trip he laid waste the French colony at the mouth of the St. Croix River, burned Port Royal, on the other side of the bay, at that time a deserted village, and on his way back to Jamestown made an attack on the Dutch on Manhattan Island. His expeditions, though cruelly conducted, had the important result of confining French activity to the St. Lawrence. Sir Thomas Gates left the colony in 1614 to return home. Dale now held the chief command for a couple of years, in which time the colony enjoyed much prosperity. It was during this period that the cultivation of tobacco was substituted for the manufacture of potash, soap, tar, and glass, which had previously occupied the labor of the colonists. So extensively was tobacco raised and so uniform was its value that it was used at times as money.

In 1617 Captain Argall was made deputy-governor. As might have been expected, he oppressed the colonists. He was avaricious and grew rich by plundering the charge committed to his care. So great was the disrepute into which the colony fell under his rule that Lord De la Ware himself started for America. But he died on the voyage, and Argall's misrule continued till he was succeeded in 1619 by Sir George Yeardley. He returned to England wealthy from his ill-gotten gains.

Yeardley made a capital governor. He adopted several measures which were to the advantage of the colony. One of these was to divide the plantations into sections and to call on the residents of each of these boroughs to choose two delegates to a rude kind of legislature. This body, the Virginia House of Burgesses, met for the first time on July 30, 1619.

This was the commencement of representative government in America. But the members of this assembly had little power beyond the right of free debate. The sanction of the home company was necessary to the enforcement of any law they might pass. Still it was a long step in the right direction.

The same year that saw the commencement of representative government in America beheld also the introduction of negro slavery. A Dutch vessel coming to the colony brought twenty negroes, who were bought at auction by some of the settlers and made slaves. It is not a little curious that one institution so valuable and another so evil should have their origin in America within a month of each other—both destined to enter into the very life of American civilization and to wax greater in power side by side until, nearly two centuries and a half afterward, a fierce struggle should arise, as a result of which the one has become a universal principle in the land and the other has become to the present generation a mere matter of history.

In 1620 over 1,200 immigrants arrived, who trebled the number of colonists. Ninety young women of good character were also sent, who became wives to the planters. Each settler who chose a wife was taxed 120 pounds of tobacco to pay the expense of her transportation, from which fact has arisen the assertion that the colonists bought their wives. The next year sixty more arrived, and family life became established in Virginia.

The London Company, in 1621, gave a written constitution to the colony which confirmed and enlarged the powers of the representative government and secured the right of trial by jury. At the same time Yeardley was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt as governor.

Virginia was now a flourishing colony, with James-

town as its principal town and many smaller settlements along the James and in the interior. But its peace was to be disturbed in a frightful manner. Powhatan, the faithful friend of the English, was dead, and the Indians resolved, in 1622, to make a mighty effort to drive out the pale-face, before whose power they saw their own race was destined to perish.

They entered the settlements in small bodies, apparently bent as usual on trading. Suddenly, at a given time, they fell upon the English, and massacre, without pity, without quarter, ensued. But fortunately Jamestown and some other of the larger settlements had received notice of the Indians' design through the loyalty of a native to a white man who had befriended him. Had it not been for this warning the colony might have perished utterly. As it was, the horrid work had gone far enough. Eight of the eighty settlements had been destroyed and 347 men, women, and children massacred.

As soon as the English recovered from the suddenness of this blow they avenged the murder of their countrymen. Soldiers were sent in every direction to fight the Indians, till the savages, severely punished, were driven away.

The colony then speedily regained its lost ground and grew rapidly in numbers and prosperity. Under the third charter great advances had been made in every way.

CHAPTER XI.

VIRGINIA A ROYAL PROVINCE.

The charter of Virginia withdrawn—Various governors—Land troubles—The civil war in England—Oliver Cromwell—Monarchy restored—Religious troubles in Virginia—Indian outbreak—The Navigation Act—Reconciliation between Parliament and Virginia—Berkeley made governor—Royal oppression—Culpepper and Arlington become proprietors—"Bacon's Rebellion"—Culpepper becomes governor—Virginia once more a royal colony—William and Mary College founded.

At this time in England many of King James' subjects were dissatisfied with his government. There were many patriots who considered that he acted unwisely and tyranically. Of this way of thinking were the larger part of the members of the London Company. In their meetings they exercised a freedom of debate on Virginian affairs that often extended to their own government. All this did not please King James, and he appointed a commission to investigate the affairs of the company. This commission discovered, or said they discovered, that the London Company was in a corrupt condition, financially and politically. The question was brought into court, where it was decided that the charter of the corporation was null and void. King James, therefore, in June, 1624, withdrew the charter, and Virginia coming under the immediate authority of the crown, became a royal province, and so it remained, with little interruption, till the Revolution.

The colony of Virginia at first felt this change very slightly. Its General Assembly was continued,

Wyatt was retained as governor, and to make up the council of twelve, the king appointed those who were friendly to the colony. Even under Charles I., who succeeded his father, King James, in 1625, there was little interference with colonial affairs. It was not till Charles tried to obtain the monopoly of the profitable tobacco trade that any disagreement arose, and the colonists soon secured the settlement of this question in their own favor.

In 1626 Wyatt was succeeded by Yeardley as governor. But the latter died the next year, and the council, as they were permitted to do in such a case, chose Francis West to hold that office till a new governor could be sent from England. Charles appointed John Harvey, who arrived in 1629.

Difficulties now arose in Virginia about titles to land. Many of the colonists had built their homes on lands that were claimed by others in virtue of old grants. Harvey soon made himself obnoxious and unpopular by favoring the land monopolists, to the discomfort of the less wealthy settlers. Affairs finally reached such a state that the assembly and a majority of the council in 1635 resolved that Harvey be impeached and that West should be their governor till the king could be heard from.

But Charles, treating the whole affair in the same high-handed way that afterward cost him his life, refused to have Harvey tried and sent him back to Virginia as governor. There he remained till 1639, when Wyatt took the office once more.

Meanwhile a political crisis was approaching in England, without a knowledge of which we cannot understand the history of Virginia and the other colonies. The self-will and haughtiness of James I. was followed by the obstinacy and oppression of Charles I. Patriots had made themselves heard in the reign of the former; they made themselves felt in the reign

of the latter. Parliament was upheld in its opposition to the king by those who held liberal notions in politics and dissented from the religion of the Established Church. The conservatives in religious and political matters, royalists and high churchmen, supported Charles. The conflict of words was followed in 1642 by a civil war. After varying success for some years victory perched on the Parliamentary banner, the royalists were defeated, and the king fell into the hands of his enemies. He was tried before a court organized for the purpose, and in accordance with the findings of this tribunal was beheaded in 1649.

During the civil war one person had risen to particular distinction on the Parliamentary side. Oliver Cromwell was a man of great ability and energy. The government being declared no longer a monarchy, Cromwell was made Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. With wonderful skill, wisdom, and success he ruled the nation in its domestic and foreign relations till his death in 1658. His son Richard succeeded to his office, but was of less stalwart mind than his father. Growing timorous at the attempts made by the royalists to regain possession of the government, and failing to obtain that firm and guiding hold on the nation's affairs which was necessary at this time, he at last resigned. Confusion followed for a season, till finally the army, the people, and Parliament, desirous of rest from the excitement and turmoil of the past eighteen years, welcomed to the throne the son of Charles I.; and in 1660 Charles II. received the crown his father had lost. Such is a brief outline of one of the most important struggles in English history.

Virginia was necessarily affected by the course of events in England, though not to any considerable extent till after the execution of Charles I. Sir Will-

iam Berkeley was governor from 1641 to 1651. He was a royalist and the colonists were mostly in sympathy with the royal cause. But the struggle was fought out in England, and Virginia, which was now in large measure an independent state, was well advanced on its prosperous course. The laws were changed for the better, cruel punishments abolished, taxes levied more fairly, and the land troubles ended.

But in one respect Virginia took a backward step. The Episcopal Church was made the only legal religion, and the dissenters, whose brethren of the same faith were making themselves obnoxious to the royalists in England, were much oppressed. They were prohibited from preaching their doctrines, were deprived of offices which they held, and were in some instances even driven from home. New England, as we shall soon learn, had been settled by the Puritans, and this persecution of their faith suspended for a long time the friendship which had previously existed between those colonies and Virginia.

In 1644 trouble arose again with the Indians, who thought the time opportune for another effort to regain their lands and drive out the English. They fell on the outlying settlements, and with their usual ferocity massacred 300 of the pioneers. Again the English administered a severe punishment on the savages, forced them into peace, and secured more of their lands.

The English royalists never admitted for a moment the legality of the proceedings by which Charles I. had been put to death and the government declared a commonwealth. They insisted always that Charles II. was king of England, though in exile. Virginia was of the same way of thinking and proclaimed him king. The colony of course incurred Cromwell's displeasure by this conduct. In 1651 the Navigation

Act was passed by Parliament, which compelled the Virginians to carry on their commerce solely by means of English vessels and with English ports.

This was a serious blow, but it did not bring the colony to terms. Now a naval force was sent to overawe the colonists. They refused to submit to force, but seeing how useless it was to persist in their course, expressed themselves as willing to make terms with the commissioners whom Cromwell had been wise enough to send with the requisite authority. On the one side Virginia acknowledged the supremacy of Parliament; on the other, the restrictions on commerce were abolished and the assembly of the colony was made the sole authority in levying taxes.

This ended the conflict between the Commonwealth and Virginia. The colony was allowed to regulate its own affairs unhindered. It had even elected four governors before Charles II. came to the throne in 1660. The last of these was Sir William Berkeley. When monarchy was restored in England he was continued in office by the king, and the royalists rejoiced at being once more under the sway of the crown.

The change, however, did not profit the colony. It was once more enacted that English ships should do all the carrying-trade of Virginia, and a severe tax was imposed on its commerce. Moreover, the colonists were forced to sell all their tobacco, the most valuable product of Virginia, in England, which prevented their securing as high prices for it as they could have done in the unrestricted market of the world.

Nor was this all. Charles II., selfish, proud, and domineering, made no scruple of granting even occupied and cultivated lands to his favorites at court. Finally, in 1673, the king made over the whole of Virginia for thirty-one years to two noblemen, Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington.

Meanwhile two parties were arising in Virginia, which soon came into collision. The officials and the richer classes formed the aristocratic party, and the common people, the bone and sinew of the colony, composed the other. Berkeley belonged to the former. He loved to surround himself with all the state and ceremony which he thought befitted his office. He enjoyed the monopoly of trade with the Indians. He cared little for the welfare of the colony and the bulk of the community. Public improvements, the building of roads, bridges, and the like, received no encouragement at his hands. General education did not meet with his favor. "I thank God," said he, "that there are no free schools nor printing-presses here, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years."

With such a leader the colony could not prosper. The aristocrats acquired the balance of power in the assembly. The religious toleration which had existed during the commonwealth came to an end. Episcopalianism became once more the only authorized religion, and other sects were persecuted with fines and imprisonment. Taxes were unfairly levied so as to favor the rich and oppress the poor.

These proceedings naturally incensed the mass of the colonists. An opportunity only was lacking to array the people against the governor. It came at last. The Indians attacked the remote settlements. The English in Virginia and Maryland united in punishing them. The savages sent some of their number into Virginia to ask for peace. To the disgrace of the colony, these representatives were put to death, and the Indians renewed their atrocities in revenge.

Berkeley now interfered to secure peace. He claimed that the colonists had acted treacherously in murdering the Indian embassadors. But the colonists

had suffered too much at the hands of the savages to be influenced by this argument, and perhaps thought that Berkeley chiefly feared the ruin of trade with the natives, which would deprive him of the advantages of his monopoly. At any rate they insisted on a campaign against the savages. Berkeley refused to send soldiers. Then the people took the matter into their own hands.

They found a leader in Nathaniel Bacon, a man of only thirty-three years of age and of short residence in the colony, but brave, sagacious, and of wide experience. In 1676 he gathered a force of several hundred colonists and began his march against the Indians. Berkeley proclaimed him a traitor, but was prevented from following him by a popular demonstration. The old assembly came to an end, and a new one, of which Bacon was a member, was elected by universal suffrage, and the people forced the governor, much against his will, to grant a commission to Bacon.

The popular leader now marched against the Indians and restored peace, but civil strife was not as easily settled. Berkeley crossed to the eastern shore of the Chesapeake and organized a force, with which he returned and entered Jamestown. On the approach of Bacon, however, many of the governor's soldiers went over to the popular side, and Berkeley had to leave the town. A report arose that an English fleet was in the neighborhood which would assist the governor. So the patriots set fire to their own houses to prevent their falling again into the enemy's possession.

The assembly had declared that Berkeley's flight across the Chesapeake was a virtual abandonment of his office, and they decided to take the government into their own hands. This was the state of affairs when Bacon suddenly died, in 1677.

So ended "Bacon's Rebellion," as it was long called. Without their leader the people had little power. For a year they had been defying the governor's authority, and he determined to punish them severely. As soon as his authority was restored he set about accomplishing his object. Some he fined, the lands of others he confiscated, and, worst of all, twenty-two of the leaders were arrested and hung as traitors. It was a frightful revenge. Charles II. is said to have exclaimed, on hearing of Berkeley's conduct, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father."

Bacon had made a noble effort in a good cause, and his name will be remembered as one of the earliest of our long line of popular patriots. His death occurred at an unfortunate time. Berkeley regained more than his old ascendency and oppressed the people more than ever, till he was recalled by King Charles in this same year, 1677.

Lord Culpepper, one of the joint proprietors of Virginia, had secured the appointment of governor for life. He did not reach the colony, however, till 1680. His arrival was the commencement of a hard time for the colonists. Being avaricious he fleeced them, and being a tyrant he oppressed them. Once more the people were vexed into discontent. Culpepper acquired Arlington's share of Virginia, and the prospect looked still more gloomy for the people. But in 1684 Charles II. took means to deprive Culpepper of his proprietary rights, and Virginia became once more a royal province.

Sir Edmund Andros, whom we shall read of soon in the story of the New England colonies, was governor of Virginia from 1692 to 1698. During his administration William and Mary College was founded near Williamsburg in 1693. With the exception of Harvard University, this is the oldest seat of learning in the United States.

From this time on till the spirit of the Revolution began to stir through the land, we shall not need to trace the history of Virginia in detail. We have followed for nearly a century the struggles and the trials of the first English colony in America, till we have seen it finally established and growing in population, wealth, and importance. We may now pass on to the history of the other colonies.

CHAPTER XII.

MASSACHUSETTS—PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Smith's attempts to colonize New England—Explores the coast—The council of Plymouth—The Puritans—They leave England and become Pilgrims—Sail in the *Mayflower*—Plymouth founded—Hardships—Relations with the Indians—Attempt to settle at Weymouth—Miles Standish—Financial troubles with the London partners—The Pilgrims obtain complete control of the colony.

It will be remembered that in 1606 King James granted the territory lying between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the Plymouth Company, and that in this year and the next vain attempts had been made to effect a settlement.

For several years after this little was done by the company. In 1609, as we know, Captain John Smith, wounded in Virginia, returned to England. As his health was restored, his activity sought new fields for work. He saw an opportunity for establishing trade with the Indians and making settlements within the Plymouth Company's territory. With this object in view he formed a partnership with London merchants, and in 1614 sailed with two ships laden with merchandise for trading purposes.

His men opened trading operations with the natives and engaged in fishing. But Smith had a mind for practical discovery as well. He therefore set about the task, which, as might have been expected, he performed thoroughly, of exploring and making a

chart of the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. In this map he called the country New England.

In the autumn the vessels returned to England, and their story of success caused another ship to be sent the next year with a small company. Nothing came of this expedition, however. The vessel encountered a severe storm near our coast and was obliged to return home.

Smith was not a man to be baffled by disaster. He at once organized another expedition and started again for the New World. On the voyage his ship was captured by a piratical French craft and he was taken prisoner to Rochelle. In an open boat he made his escape, and after his return to England published a glowing account of New England, and made efforts to secure the colonization of this region.

But obstacles arose and no colonists were sent out. At last, in November, 1620, the king replaced the Plymouth Company by the Council of Plymouth. To this council, composed of forty rich and eminent men, was given outright the territory from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of latitude, with possession of the fisheries and complete power of government. Smith was made admiral of New England for life, and as such his name is last mentioned in our history. He had done a noble work in conducting the affairs of the Jamestown colony, in directing attention to New England as a good field for settlement, and in exploring the Chesapeake and our northern coast.

The first permanent settlement, however, within the limits of New England was not destined to be made by the Plymouth Company or the Council of Plymouth. It was, in fact, established without their consent. To see how this result came about, we must look for a moment at the history of England for some years previous to this time.

The Church of England, which during the reign of Elizabeth became firmly established as the national authority in religious matters, was only less tolerant of dissension from its doctrines than the Church of Rome. Those who refused to admit its final authority, insisted on interpreting the Bible for themselves, and demanded the right of fixing their own method of worship, were considered little better than heretics.

From their austere life, their inculcation of what they thought a purer morality, and their claim that their beliefs and practices were more in accord with the Scriptures than those of the ruling church, they acquired the name of Puritans. Loyal subjects they were, but given to expressing their minds with freedom and exhibiting an independent spirit in politics as well as in religion, so that they had little favor from Queen Elizabeth.

The accession of James I. to the throne brought no mitigation of the laws which prevented them from free assembly and discussion. James, with his devotion to high-church principles, would give them no liberty. It is said that in the year 1604 alone 300 ministers of the Puritans "were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled."

The spirit that stirred within these men and women would not brook such oppression. They determined to leave their homes and their country to secure religious freedom. In 1607, when some of them were about to depart, they were prevented by the authorities and imprisoned. But the next year a ship-load of them sailed to Amsterdam under the guidance of John Robinson, minister, and William Brewster, ruling elder. The Puritans had become Pilgrims.

Soon they removed to Leyden, where their temporal condition speedily improved and their numbers were increased by brethren of the same faith from home. They were not content with their foreign surroundings in Holland, nor did they forget that they were

Englishmen. Gradually they evolved the plan of emigrating to America, where they might live unhindered in the exercise of their religious beliefs and yet be under the protection of England.

Representatives were sent to obtain from the London or the Plymouth Company permission to settle within their jurisdiction. But their various negotiations came to naught, and they received nothing more than an informal promise from King James that they should not be molested.

With that they were forced to be content. Their minds were made up, and they determined to venture to the New World. To eke out their own small resources, a financial arrangement was made with London merchants by which the Puritans were to give their services and the others their money for a period of seven years, at the end of which time the profits were to be divided.

They bought a vessel of sixty tons, named the *Speedwell*, and as many of the Leyden church as could be accommodated sailed in her to Southampton, England. There they were joined by another vessel, which they had hired—the *Mayflower*, three times as large, carrying other Puritans.

From Southampton they set sail in August, but twice were compelled to return because of the unseaworthy condition of the smaller vessel. The *Speedwell* was therefore abandoned, and on September 6th 102 men, women, and children departed to their new home.

The valley of the Hudson had been well chosen as their destination, but tempestuous weather drove them further north. On November 9, 1620, after a voyage of sixty-three days, they anchored within the shelter of Cape Cod.

Having no authorization from the king or the company in their enterprise, they deemed it necessary

before landing to make a mutual agreement with each other for their government. They drew up a compact, therefore, which all the men, forty-two in number, signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, providing for their organization into a "civil body-politic" for securing "just and equal laws," unto which they promised "all due submission and obedience." John Carver was at once elected governor of the colony by the votes of all.

On lowering their boat to go ashore it was found useless without repairs. It took the carpenter more than a fortnight to complete his work, and during

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

that time, though some of the men got ashore, they found nothing of value. When the boat was ready, Carver, with a dozen or fifteen followers, set out along the coast of the bay. Their undertaking was no light one. Their clothing was stiffened by frozen spray and they were attacked by Indians. Several days passed. A storm arose, breaking their rudder and forcing them to steer with oars. It broke their mast also, which fell overboard with the sail. Still they kept on for shelter. Darkness approached, and with difficulty they got into a harbor and spent the night on shore.

In the morning they found they were on an island. The day was spent in securing the rest which they needed and making repairs. The next day was the Sabbath, and their religious opinions forbade aught but devotions. On Monday morning, however, they crossed to the shore and landed on Plymouth Rock. It was the 11th of December, old style, that is, December 21st according to our present reckoning. The *Mayflower* was brought to the harbor, the Puritans disembarked, and the colony of Plymouth, organized on board the vessel, began its existence on land.

Imagine the situation of these Pilgrims. A hundred people, not half of them able-bodied men, on a coast that in the middle of winter seemed inhospitable enough, surrounded with savages, far from friends or assistance, the nearest Europeans on the coast being the French at Port Royal, a long way to the north, and the Jamestown colonists, 500 miles to the south.

But they must do their best to maintain life. They investigated their surroundings, and choosing a site for their settlement named it Plymouth, after the last English port at which the *Mayflower* had touched. Trees were felled, and each man undertook to build a shelter for himself and his family. Wintry storms came upon them. Exposure generated consumption and other lung diseases. Slowly they reared their homes in the wilderness, but by the time winter broke their governor and half the colony had perished.

Spring brought health and renewed energy to the sick and bereaved. But still they feared danger from the Indians. Captain Miles Standish was sent with a small band to gather information on this point, but he had no conflict with the natives. Soon the apprehensions of the colonists were put at rest.

In March an Indian named Samoset, who knew a few words of English which he had picked up from

the fishermen on the coast of Maine, appeared in Plymouth, extended his hand, and said, "Welcome, Englishmen." Through an Indian who had been carried to England he made the colonists understand that he came from Massasoit, the sachem of the Wampanoags. His tribe wanted to secure the friendship of the English for trade and for help against their enemies the Narragansetts. They promised in return peace and opportunity for commercial intercourse. The settlers at once concluded a just compact, and the offensive and defensive alliance thus formed remained unbroken for half a century, proving of great assistance to the English in many ways.

Other tribes followed the example of the Wampanoags till nine chiefs had acknowledged the authority of King James. One reason for the submissiveness of the savages was the small numbers to which they had been reduced by a pestilence a few years before the arrival of the Pilgrims. But the Narragansetts had escaped its ravages and were the enemies of the Wampanoags. Toward the English, therefore, they maintained a defiant attitude. Canonicus, their sachem, sent to the colony a bundle of arrows wrapped in a rattlesnake's skin—an Indian method of proclaiming enmity. William Bradford, who was Carver's successor in the governorship, nothing daunted, returned the skin stuffed with powder and ball. This resolute reply cowed Canonicus into suing for peace.

For a year or two the colonists had little success with their harvests and suffered severely at times for lack of sufficient food. A company of sixty men, sent over to make a settlement at Weymouth, on the south side of Boston harbor, remained at Plymouth for a while, and being scantily supplied themselves, added to the distress by consuming the provisions of the settlers.

When they attempted to make their intended set-

tlement in 1622, they endeavored to supply their own want of thrift by defrauding the Indians in their neighborhood. The savages formed a plot for their destruction, but Massasoit, who was aware of their intentions, remembered his pledge to the English and gave warning to the Plymouth colonists. Miles Standish, with a handful of men, was sent to assist his brethren, and with great gallantry he discomfited the Indians. But the Weymouth settlement was given up, some of the men going to Plymouth and others returning to England.

In the spring of 1623 the lands of the colony were divided for purposes of cultivation, and from that summer on there was no scarcity of food. In the next year every one received in absolute ownership a little land.

Trouble now arose with the London partners of the Pilgrims by whose financial aid they had been enabled to organize their colony. Considerable money had been spent, from which there had been small return. The colonists, too, were vexed by an attempt (which, however, they successfully resisted) to force on them a clergyman of the Church of England. Finally, eight leading men of the colony bought out the rights of the partners in London.

But Plymouth did not retain an ascendency in New England as long as Jamestown did in Virginia. A new colony now arose which was destined to achieve the leadership in this part of the country, and henceforth we shall hear little of the affairs of Plymouth.

CHAPTER XIII.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY AND THE NEW ENGLAND UNION.

Salem settled—A charter granted to Massachusetts Bay Colony—Boston founded—The right of suffrage—Roger Williams—His banishment—Representative government—Sir Henry Vane—Connecticut settled—Anne Hutchinson—Harvard University founded—The New England union—The "body of liberties"—Changes in the government—The civil war in England—Oliver Cromwell—Maine is settled—Annexed to Massachusetts—Persecution of the Quakers—Unsuccessful attempt to make Massachusetts a royal province.

In 1624 some Pilgrims from England settled on Cape Ann, but two years afterward removed to the present site of Salem. The founding of that town, however, as a permanent colony is dated from 1628, when another company arrived, with John Endicott as governor.

In 1629 their grant from the Council of Plymouth was confirmed by a charter from Charles I. The proprietors were styled in this instrument "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The governor, with various assistants to be elected annually, was to constitute the executive branch of the government, and these, with the freemen, or members of the corporation, meeting in "general court," were the legislative body, empowered to make all necessary laws so long as these were not inconsistent with English statutes. Thus Massachusetts Bay colony was virtually an independent state in religious and political matters.

The new colony grew and prospered. New emigrants arrived, some of whom settled at Charlestown. John Winthrop, a wise and prudent man, was chosen governor of the colony. Cambridge, Watertown, Roxbury, and Dorchester were settled. Boston, named after a town in England, was founded in 1630 and soon became the center of the colony. Other settlements were made in this region and the colony was firmly established, though not without much suffering from exposure and disease, which had soon carried off 200 of the settlers.

In 1631 the general court of the colony passed a law enacting that only church-members should exercise the right of suffrage. Nearly three-fourths of the colony were thereby denied the right to vote or to hold office. Attendance at religious worship was made compulsory. Thus was taken one of the first steps which have brought the reproach on the Pilgrims of not allowing to others the same religious freedom for which they had themselves struggled. But we must remember the age in which they lived and their desire to preserve inviolate their Puritan beliefs.

Soon they took a further step that cast a lasting stigma on the Massachusetts Bay colony. Roger Williams was the minister at Salem. He had called rebuke on himself for maintaining that the civil government had no authority in matters of conscience, and was obliged to withdraw to Plymouth. While there he wrote a paper declaring that the colony had no right to the lands it occupied until the Indians had been recompensed. Nevertheless he was recalled to Salem, where he still maintained his independent opinions and asserted that it was as absurd to choose civil rulers from church-members only as it would be to select a pilot or physician because of his theological knowledge.

His opinions were considered subversive of the doctrines on which the colony chose to be governed. In 1635, therefore, the general court decreed his banishment, and leaving his home in the midst of the winter, January, 1636, he wandered for weeks in the wilderness. He finally made his way southward and there founded Providence, as we shall learn later on.

His opinions, however, were not without fruit in the colony. The authorities considered that when the whole people could not be assembled they were not necessarily entitled to send representatives, but that the chief power lay with the governor and his assistants. The people thought otherwise, and on election day in May, 1634, notwithstanding a powerful sermon by Cotton, they established a representative government. Here for the first time the ballot-box took the place of the former method of election by a show of hands. Soon a law was passed prohibiting arbitrary taxation and maintaining the principle, for which all the colonies fought in the Revolution, that only the representatives of the people could levy taxes. Had not the restriction on the right of suffrage still existed, the government of Massachusetts would have been nearly as perfect as it is to-day.

The colony now grew rapidly. Three thousand new settlers arrived the next year, and among them came Sir Henry Vane, a young English nobleman who entered so heartily into the interests of the colony that he was before long elected governor.

The colonists, as they increased in numbers, were constantly pushing out to make new settlements. One company founded Concord in this way. Another, composed of sixty persons, made a difficult journey to the Connecticut valley in the latter part of 1635, and there, as we shall learn when we come

to the history of the Connecticut colony, laid the foundations of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.

In Massachusetts Bay the religious troubles increased. The ministers exercised their influence and authority to prevent the spread of opinions differing from their own orthodox beliefs, but many of the people sided with the independent spirits who continued to advocate liberal principles such as Roger Williams had advanced.

Among these was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of ability and energy, who insisted on her right to speak at public meetings. The church-rulers maintained that a woman's voice should not be heard on such occasions. But Mrs. Hutchinson argued her cause of freedom of speech and conscience for both sexes with such ability that the larger part of the inhabitants of Boston, and even Sir Henry Vane, the governor, sided with her.

Vane's term of office came to an end, and in 1637 the conservative party, which embraced the clergy, Winthrop, and others of like opinions, carried the elections. Soon Anne Hutchinson, together with Wheelright and Aspinwall, her chief supporters, were banished from the colony "as unfit for the society" of its inhabitants. Some of her adherents founded Exeter, in New Hampshire, and others proceeded to Rhode Island, where they lent their aid to Roger Williams in the foundation of a colony.

While intolerance was thus making itself felt, an enterprise of a very different nature was undertaken—an institution was founded which to-day, nearly 250 years after its origin, is known as the center of liberal and progressive thought. The Pilgrims were friends of education, and in 1636 the general court made an appropriation of money to establish a public school. Newtown, afterward called Cambridge from the English university town, was chosen as the site.

Plymouth, Salem, and Connecticut aided in the enterprise, and a bequest of money and a library was soon received on the death of John Harvard, a young minister. In his honor the institution, in 1638, was named Harvard College, and the oldest college in the United States has since then grown wonderfully and broadened into a splendid university.

It is worthy of note, too, that at Cambridge, in 1640, was printed the first book in the United States—a translation of the Psalms into English verse.

There were by this time over 20,000 settlers scattered in fifty towns along the New England coast, notwithstanding the fact that Charles I. prevented many would-be emigrants from leaving England to add to the numbers of those in the New World whose independent opinions in politics and religion were so distasteful to him. The ship-building industry had been commenced and all the pursuits and trades of a nation were being introduced. The furs, lumber, grain, and fish which the forests, fields, and waters of New England produced brought wealth to the colonists.

There were too many lives and interests at stake to warrant a neglect of means for defense. The French might at any time attack them on the north, the Dutch on the west, and the Indians everywhere. The English government was too occupied with the internal troubles which soon culminated in civil war to pay much attention to her colonies.

Efforts were therefore made to unite the New England colonies by some common bond. Once and again these efforts were fruitless, but finally the end was achieved. The colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven in 1643 joined in a confederacy which was styled The United Colonies of New England. Matters of local interest were left for each colony to manage by itself, but affairs of

general concern, such as war and peace, the raising of troops and revenues, and relations with the Indians, were placed in the hands of eight commissioners, two of whom were to be elected by each of the four colonies mentioned.

Provision was made for the admission of other colonies to this confederacy, but because of religious differences chiefly no others were ever admitted. The union lasted with more or less success for forty years.

Massachusetts meanwhile was perfecting her own government. The people desired something more definite than they already possessed in the nature of a constitution or Magna Charta to define the rights and privileges of magistrates and people and provide laws for their guidance. The subject had been under discussion for several years, but nothing came of it till 1641, when a "body of liberties," prepared chiefly by Nathaniel Ward, was adopted. Governor, assistants, deputies, and judges were to be annually elected. The freedom of the commonwealth, of the towns, and of the people was established on a firm basis, and except for the harshness, as it seems to us to-day, of its provisions on religious subjects, no scant praise must be bestowed on this admirable document.

Trouble still remained, however, between the assistants and the deputies—the upper and lower houses of the colonial assembly. Both had hitherto met and transacted their business in the same room, and the assistants claimed a right of veto on acts of the deputies, which was a power denied to the lower house on the resolutions of the other. A change was now made by which each body had its separate place of assembly and its own officers, each could originate laws, and each have a negative vote on the decisions of the other. The right of veto was not yet given to the governor; otherwise the government of Massachusetts was substantially the same as it now exists.

While the Puritans in Massachusetts were perfecting their government, their brethren in England were struggling against the tyranny of Charles I. and civil war had been commenced. The triumph of the Parliamentary cause was the triumph of those who did not acknowledge the supreme authority of the Church of England. Parliament did not, indeed, oppress the New Englanders, whose sympathy they had, as it did the Virginians, who were tainted with royalism. Several measures, however, were adopted which would have acted to the disadvantage of Massachusetts if Sir Henry Vane, who had returned to England, and able commissioners sent from the colony had not averted the danger by their influence and prudence.

After the execution of the king Massachusetts was asked to surrender her charter and receive a new one, which would have brought her much more under the sway of Parliament. The colony, however, did not see fit to yield its independence even to this extent, and the change was never made. Oliver Cromwell, who now held almost royal authority under the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, did not enforce the request. He allowed the New England colonies, while he lived, the utmost freedom.

The first settlement within the present state of Maine was probably made in 1626, near Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid. Sir Ferdinand Gorges, in 1639, obtained the region between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers under a royal charter. A grant of territory around Casco Bay had previously been made to another corporation by the Plymouth Council, and disputes arose which gave the settlers little rest. Their complaints were, therefore, laid before the general court at Boston, and this body decreed, in 1652, that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by a strict interpretation of her charter, extended three miles beyond the northernmost part of the Merrimac

River and "east and west to each sea." The province of Maine was therefore annexed to Massachusetts.

We come now to another blot on the fair page of Massachusetts' history. The colony had persecuted and banished Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Now it proceeded to a greater length with the Quakers.

The first of this sect arrived in Boston in 1656. The Quakers of this time in New England were far more aggressive than those of to-day. They urged their doctrines with vehemence and persistence, and courted the danger of persecution and the death of martyrdom. Their belief in the Inner Light, the voice of God in the soul, as the only guide in religion, and their belief in the utmost individual liberty of conscience, were not at all compatible with the tenets of Massachusetts orthodoxy. The authorities considered that all dangers would flow from the unsettlement of the people's faith: to ward off these dangers the most extreme measures would be justified.

The first Quakers, therefore, who arrived, two women, were thrown into prison, their books burned, and other indignities heaped upon them. They were soon banished from the colony, and several others were sent back to England.

Cruel punishments were prescribed against the Quakers—whipping, cutting off of ears, and boring the tongue with a red-hot iron. One woman, who had come from England expressly to warn the magistrates against this cruel treatment, received twenty stripes for her reward. Yet the Quakers continued to come, seeming to delight in martyrdom.

The commissioners of the united colonies deemed the matter of sufficient importance to recommend, in 1658, that Massachusetts prescribe the punishment of death for such as would not leave the colony. The younger Winthrop, from Connecticut, was the only man of these commissioners who was humane enough

to oppose this recommendation. The general court of the colony, though, we are glad to say, by a majority of only a single vote decided to follow the advice.

In September, 1659, four persons, the most turbulent of the Quakers, were ordered to leave the colony. One obeyed. Another, Mary Dyar, also departed, but afterward returned. She, together with Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson, who had scorned the threatened danger, were condemned to death. They were led forth for execution and the men were hanged. At the last moment Mary Dyar was reprieved and sent out of the colony, but she soon came back and was hanged on the common of Boston.

William Ledra was also soon executed. Another Quaker was tried and condemned. The prisons contained many of his friends who were willing to suffer martyrdom. But at last the people became sick of this cruelty. The authorities saw their error. The prisoners, twenty-eight in number, were released, and the persecution of the Quakers ceased.

In 1660, as we had cause to note in the history of Virginia, monarchy was restored to England in the person of Charles II. The judges who had condemned his father to death were obliged to fly for their lives. Two of them came to Boston, where they were well received by the governor and the people and concealed from the British officers for some time. They afterward went to New Haven, and finally found a refuge in Hadley, where they ended their lives in peace.

Severe restrictions were soon put on the commerce and manufactures of Massachusetts for the benefit of the English king and the English merchants.

War now broke out between England and Holland, and Charles sent a fleet in 1664 to obtain possession of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson. He also

had in view the intimidation of the English colonies, which he wished to bring under his immediate control. The charter of Massachusetts stood in his way and this could not be conveniently revoked. He therefore began his operations by sending with his fleet four commissioners to act as judges and to generally supervise affairs in New England.

The people knew very well what this action meant. They knew also that it was a violation of their charter. Massachusetts gave her patent to a trustworthy committee for safe-keeping and refused to acknowledge the authority of the judges. Rhode Island alone yielded complete obedience. Connecticut was cold, while Maine and New Hampshire were by no means submissive. The judges were disgusted and Charles II. recalled them in 1665. Massachusetts, by her firm and independent spirit, had achieved a great victory and preserved her liberty.

CHAPTER XIV.

MASSACHUSETTS—KING PHILIP'S WAR AND ANDROS.

War breaks out with the Indians—Its progress—Deerfield, Hadley, and Springfield—The Narragansetts are cut to pieces—King Philip is shot—Purchase of the proprietary claims to Maine—New Hampshire made a separate province—Massachusetts becomes a royal province—Sir Edmund Andros—The tyrant is overthrown.

A cloud now loomed up on the horizon. Trouble threatened with the Indians. The faithful friend of the English, Massasoit, died in 1662, and was succeeded in the chieftainship of the Wampanoags first by his elder son and within a year by his younger son, who is known as King Philip.

The younger generation of warriors regretted the hunting-grounds which their fathers had sold to the pale-face. The Wampanoags now retained of all their former wide possessions only a small territory in the eastern part of Rhode Island. Moreover, some of the Indians had been arrested and imprisoned by the English. An Indian was killed: in revenge an Englishman was murdered.

The Indians were now thoroughly aroused. Philip, perhaps, desired to avoid a conflict, but finding himself unable to restrain his tribe, led them on. All the Indians in New England at this time did not number more than 25,000, while the colonists were twice as numerous. Notwithstanding this the savages determined to fight.

Philip put the women and children of his tribe

under the care of Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts, and war was commenced by an attack on the town of Swanzey, not far from Fall River, on June 24, 1675. Eight Englishmen were massacred.

The treaty made with Massasoit more than fifty years before was thus broken. Companies from Plymouth and Boston marched against Philip and forced him to fly to a swamp, where he defended himself for a fortnight. At last, to escape starvation he was obliged to steal away. Coming to the Nipmuck Indians in central Massachusetts, he inflamed this and other tribes. The war became general, and for months the outlying settlements were subject to surprise and massacre.

When Philip escaped from the besieging force of colonists, these marched against Canonchet, whom they forced to yield up the women and children of the Wampanoags and to agree that the Narragansetts should remain peaceful.

The English hoped to prevail on the Nipmucks to maintain peace. To meet them in a conference a company of twenty men were sent to Brookfield. But the Indians had already espoused Philip's cause. They laid an ambush for the English and massacred nearly all of them. A few survivors fled to the settlement, and the inhabitants had barely time to reach the block-house before the savages were upon them.

The place was fiercely besieged for several days, and at one time, when its destruction by fire seemed certain, a shower of rain alone preserved it. Then re-enforcements arrived and the Indians were put to flight.

In August the English routed the Indians at Deerfield, but shortly after the enemy succeeded in burning the larger part of the town. A store-house, however, was saved, and eighty men undertook to transfer its contents to Hadley. On the 18th of Septem-

ber they set out, but had not gone far when 800 Indians attacked them at a ford, thereafter known as Bloody Brook, and hardly a man was left alive. But seventy more English had meanwhile arrived, who fought on while retreating till they were re-enforced by 160 English and Mohegan Indians. This increased force succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the Indians.

Hadley had been attacked on the same day as Deerfield while the people were at church. They were surprised, and were only saved from total defeat by the directing influence of General Goffe, one of the judges who had condemned Charles I. to death and was in hiding in the town. After the Indians were driven back he retired to his concealment, which few of the townspeople had suspected, and they never saw him again.

Springfield and Hadley once more were attacked and a large part of each destroyed by fire. At Hatfield, however, the Indians were severely defeated.

The people now sought safety in the stronger towns, and maintained a bold front against the enemy. Philip, therefore, marched to the country of the Narragansetts who received him and thereby broke their agreement with the English. Against this nation Massachusetts declared war, and 1,000 men were sent under Colonel Winslow against the allies.

The Indians, 3,000 in number, sought refuge in a large swamp near the village of Kingston, in the southwestern part of Rhode Island. They built a fort, with capital defenses, and there awaited the attack. The colonists arrived on December 19th and immediately began the assault. With great bravery they succeeded in forcing their way into the fort. They set on fire the wigwams within the inclosure, and a fierce conflict ensued, which ended in a com-

plete victory for the whites. A thousand of the warriors met their death, and many more were captured. The wounded and the weak, men, women, and children, were devoured by the flames. The Narragansett nation was thus nearly destroyed in a single day, but at an expense to the English of 80 killed and 150 wounded.

Some of the Indians escaped with Philip and went once more to the Nipmucks. The spring of 1676 saw the war renewed with increased fury from Maine to Long Island Sound. Lancaster, Marlborough, and even Weymouth, not twenty miles from Boston, were burnt to the ground.

But the Indians were growing weaker as the war continued. Canonchet was captured. He refused the offer of his life if he would procure peace, and bravely met his death. The wife and son of Philip also fell into the hands of the English, and the latter was sold as a slave in Bermuda. Philip's spirit was broken by these losses and other disasters. He sought his old home of Mount Hope, on the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay. In August an Indian guided a company of English to the spot and himself fired the shot that killed his chief. Treachery had accomplished what English bravery and power had hitherto been unable to achieve, and King Philip's War was over.

The Indians had been well-nigh exterminated in New England. The tribes beyond the Connecticut begged for peace. But the war had also been very disastrous to the English. It had cost $500,000 in expenses and losses. Thirteen towns and 600 houses had been destroyed. Six hundred soldiers had met their death while fighting the enemy, and many men, women, and children had been murdered in cold blood.

Charles II. did nothing to help the colonists in re-

covering from the effects of King Philip's War. On the contrary, he sent a commissioner to collect duties and interfere in other ways with what the people considered their liberties. He was received with firm remonstrances, and in a few weeks returned with a report that gave another excuse to the king for his scheme of bringing the New England colonies under his immediate sway.

Massachusetts was also involved in a dispute with the heirs of Gorges, the original proprietor of Maine, who had not yielded their claims to that province. They finally obtained a judgment in England in their favor, and to settle all questions Massachusetts purchased their rights in 1677 for £1,250.

New Hampshire, as we shall see when we come to the history of that colony, had been under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts since 1641. Thirty-eight years later, by a course of proceedings similar to those in the case of Maine, Massachusetts was declared to have no right to the province of New Hampshire, and a royal government was established therein.

But the people did not yield obedience to the royal governor, and Charles considered that the influence of Massachusetts was largely to blame for their insubordination. He had long desired to secure control of that independent colony, and now ordered his judges to conduct an investigation with a view to declaring the charter of Massachusetts forfeited. They decided in 1684 that it was so, and the king was about to exercise his authority when he died.

James II. came to the throne in 1685. He carried out the designs of his brother Charles and consolidated the colonies from Narragansett to Nova Scotia, appointing Joseph Dudley royal governor. The people of New England were not prepared to resist. The union of the colonies had finally died in 1684, after languishing for many years. The general court

of Massachusetts dissolved and the members returned to their homes, whence they saw with sorrow their liberties trampled under foot. Popular representation was abolished and the press was subjected to censorship.

Sir Edmund Andros landed in Boston in December, 1686, succeeding Dudley as governor of all New England. He proceeded at once to bring the colonies into subjection. New Hampshire succumbed. Rhode Island suffered the same fate. Connecticut was forced to submit. Andros was master of the country.

But a crisis was brewing in England that was to help the colonists. In 1688 occurred what is known as the English Revolution. James II. was deposed, and the nation received William the Silent and Mary as their sovereigns. The inhabitants of Charlestown and Boston now rose in arms. Andros was seized and thrown into prison, and afterward sent back to England, and on the 22d of May, 1689, the general court of Massachusetts once more assembled. The other colonies followed her example and re-established their own governments. New England was once more master of itself.

CHAPTER XV.

MASSACHUSETTS—WARS AND WITCHCRAFT.

King William's War—The massacre at Schenectady—The naval expedition against Quebec—The land-forces fail to reach Canada—Haverhill is attacked—The treaty of Ryswick—Massachusetts finally becomes a royal province—The Salem witchcraft—Sprèad of the delusion—Its cessation—Queen Anne's War—Deerfield—Nova Scotia captured—Expedition against Quebec—The treaty of Utrecht—Internal troubles—King George's War—Louisburg captured—The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The English colonies now became involved in the first of the intercolonial wars. When James II. left the kingdom in 1688 he went to France, where the king, Louis XIV., supported him in the vain attempt to recover his lost throne. War was declared between England and France in 1689, and the colonies of these nations in America were naturally drawn into the conflict, which is known in American history as King William's War.

In June the first blood was shed. The northern Indians, in alliance with the French, attacked Dover, New Hampshire, where they massacred more than a score of the inhabitants and took away others as captives. In August, Pemaquid, now Bremen, Maine, was surprised. The fort was besieged and finally captured, with a large loss to the English.

The colonies now made an alliance with the Mohawks, a powerful tribe to the west of the Hudson. The Dutch settlements in New Netherlands were by this time under English rule and of course took part

against the French. To the valley of the Mohawk River a party of French and Indians came in February, 1690. The town of Schenectady was surprised and a frightful massacre took place. All but sixty persons fell victim to the tomahawk and scalping-knife.

The destruction of Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua and Casco, Maine, added to the losses already suffered by the English.

It was necessary that the colonies should take some united action for their safety. A colonial congress was therefore assembled at New York. A plan was formed for attacking Canada. A land-force was to march against Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, while Massachusetts was to send a fleet to capture Quebec.

Sir William Phipps, in accordance with this plan, was sent, in 1690, with thirty-four ships to the St. Lawrence. He stopped first at Port Royal, which capitulated, and the rest of Nova Scotia yielded to the English. Delays occurred. The Indians gave warning to the French, and by the time the English were ready to attack it, Quebec was so strongly fortified that an assault would have been useless. The fleet had nothing left but to return to Boston, and Massachusetts, to pay the expenses of this expedition, issued bills of credit. These were made legal tender for the payment of debts, and paper money was thus used for the first time in the history of our country.

The joint forces which were intended for an attack on Montreal got as far as Lake Champlain. Here disputes so violent arose between the leaders from New York and Connecticut that the expedition had to be given up. So in both quarters, by land and by sea, the English had failed of the conquest of Canada.

Hostilities continued. The Indian allies of the French committed various depredations. An attack

was made on Haverhill, Massachusetts, in March, 1697, and about forty persons were killed or captured. One incident attending this massacre is worth recording as showing the cruelty of the Indians and the perils which the settlers had to undergo.

Mrs. Hannah Dustin was left with her nurse and an infant but a week old. By this means alone could her husband have saved the rest of his family. The Indians seized the child and dashed its brains out against a tree before the eyes of its horror-stricken mother. Then Mrs. Dustin, weak though she was, and one or two companions, were marched away captives. But her spirit was strong. In the dead of night she and her companions arose, seized the tomahawks of the Indians—about a dozen in number—and while they slept killed ten of them. Escaping in a canoe, she managed to reach the settlements, where she narrated her horrible story.

The war was now practically over. A treaty of peace between England and France was signed at Ryswick, Holland, and confirmed in September, 1697. By the terms of this treaty King William was acknowledged sovereign of England and the boundary of the colonies remained as before the war.

During the progress of the war Sir William Phipps had been sent to England from Massachusetts to obtain help for the colony in the conflict and a renewal of its old charter. But the government could not spare men or ships which were needed nearer home. King William preferred to rule the colonies himself. In the early part of 1692 Phipps returned to Boston as royal governor of a consolidated province. New Hampshire was kept separate from Massachusetts, but Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia were united to it, and from this time till the Revolution Massachusetts remained a royal province. Plymouth lost for good its identity as a separate colony, and Maine

remained under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts till it was separated to become a state in 1820.

The same year in which Massachusetts became a royal colony occurred also the frightful delusion known as the Salem witchcraft. The laws of England, with which those of Massachusetts agreed, prescribed the punishment of death for witches. In 1648 a woman had been executed in Boston under this law. But no others had suffered death thus far.

Now the trouble commenced in Salem. In the early part of 1692 several persons were seized with strange convulsions and spasms, which were attributed to the malignant influence of some witch. An Indian servant was whipped till she confessed.

The colony was now all excitement. Samuel Parris, minister at Salem, the Rev. Cotton Mather, a learned divine, Governor Phipps, and other leading men encouraged the belief in witchcraft and the desire for the death-penalty. A special court was organized to try cases of this kind.

A madness seemed to have seized the minds of the people. Accusations were made against the most reputable and innocent persons. The trials were a farce and condemnation often a foregone conclusion. A clergyman, George Burroughs, was hanged. Giles Corey scouted the notion of witchcraft and was arrested. Perceiving the uselessness of argument, he refused to plead and was pressed to death.

From June to September the tribunal was active. Twenty persons had been put to death—one a clergyman and thirteen women. A hundred and fifty prisoners filled the jails. Many had been tortured into false confessions of witchcraft. Scores were accused. The delusion had reached its height.

But once again, as in the case of the Quakers, the better spirit of the colonists revived at last. A reaction followed and the foolish and bloody work was

stopped. The assembly met in October, and the special court to try cases of witchcraft was done away with. The prisoners were discharged and no other executions took place, though the next year a few persons were accused and condemned.

Many of those who had taken part in these proceedings afterward admitted their error. But Cotton Mather remained as firm as ever in his belief. He published an account of the Salem witchcraft, entitled "Wonders of the Invisible World," and men high in authority still agreed with him. But they no longer could delude the popular mind when it had once recovered its sanity. The delusion had ceased, though it left a horrible stain on the glorious name of Massachusetts.

After King William's War the colonists were not long left in peace. In 1700 the King of Spain died, leaving his throne to Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. of France. To prevent the threatened union of the crowns of Spain and France, an alliance was formed between England, Austria, and Holland to secure the Spanish throne for the Archduke Charles of Austria.

England was also wroth with France for having, in spite of the treaty of Ryswick, recognized as king of England the son of James II., who died an exile in 1701. King William commenced war against his neighbor across the channel, but died the next year. Parliament had provided for the English succession in the person of Anne, daughter of James II. and sister-in-law of William. She continued the struggle, which is known in European history as the War of the Spanish Succession but in our own country as Queen Anne's War.

New England and South Carolina were the chief sufferers of the colonies from this war. The Five Nations agreed to preserve neutrality in the struggle

and stood between the colonists of New York and the French to the north. The Indians of Maine made a similar treaty, but afterward violated it and treacherously fell on the unsuspecting settlers, and a fearful and wide-spread massacre followed.

In 1704 Deerfield, Massachusetts, which had suffered in King Philip's War, was the scene of another massacre. Forty-seven persons were killed and over 100 were marched captive to Canada. Such as could not struggle longer through the deep snow were tomahawked before the eyes of their friends and relatives. The survivors were finally ransomed and returned to Massachusetts. But one of the daughters of the minister, Mr. Williams, remained with the Indians, and growing up, married a warrior. She afterward returned to Deerfield but could not be persuaded to stay there.

It was now determined to carry the war into Canada. In 1707, therefore, Massachusetts sent a fleet against Port Royal, but did not succeed in capturing the town. In 1710 another expedition resulted successfully, and all of Nova Scotia fell into the hands of the English. Port Royal was renamed Annapolis, in honor of the queen.

The next year a land-force was sent against Montreal and a naval expedition against Quebec. The fleet was under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker.

The admiral delayed to sail for an unreasonable period. Again, at Gaspé Bay, he lingered for a while. When he finally started up the St. Lawrence a storm arose and wrecked eight vessels. Nearly 900 men were lost. Quebec, meanwhile, notified of the English plans by the Indians, had strengthened her defenses. The English concluded that it was useless to proceed, and they sailed away with nothing accomplished. The land-force, learning that the fleet would not co-operate with them, was obliged to return.

Operations, meanwhile, were being carried on in the south between the Spaniards in Florida and the inhabitants of South Carolina, which we shall speak of when we come to the history of that colony.

The Indian depredations along the frontier had been continued, but the war now came to a close. By a treaty made at Utrecht, in Holland, in 1713, England obtained in America Hudson Bay, Labrador, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and the control of the Newfoundland fisheries. The hostile Indians also made a treaty of peace with the New England colonies.

The period between this war and the next was chiefly occupied in Massachusetts with struggles against the power of the royal government. The governors were not in sympathy with the people, and the colonists objected to the large salaries which the royal commissioners allowed to the governor and his council. The colonists finally gained the day, and it was settled that the popular assembly should henceforth determine the salaries annually.

In the meantime Anne had died. George I. succeeded her, and was in turn followed by George II. A dispute, in which most of the European nations took part, arose about the succession to the throne of Austria. England came into conflict with Spain, and in 1744 declared war also against France. This war of the Austrian succession is known in American history as King George's War.

The colonies were of course drawn into the struggle. Massachusetts, with her usual enterprise and patriotism, sought a good point of attack on the dominions of the French. The importance of the strongly fortified town of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, as a defense to Canada and a constant menace to the English possessions, was quickly noted. Its capture was therefore determined.

New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New

York, and Pennsylvania assisted Massachusetts. A force of over 4,000 men, under the command of William Pepperell, of Maine, was dispatched in a fleet from Boston in the month of April, 1745. Under orders from England Commodore Warren came with a fleet from the West Indies and joined the expedition, and the 100 vessels advanced.

The English effected a landing and captured a French battery near the town. Guns were planted on the opposite side of the harbor, and others were dragged with great labor through a swamp back of the town till they were placed on solid ground at short range from the walls. But the fort was so strong that it suffered little damage.

The capture of an armed provision-ship by the English carried dismay to the French. They were successful, however, in repulsing, with a loss of 176 men, a daring night attack which was made on their island battery in the harbor.

The English now decided to attempt the capture of the fortress by storm. But before they could carry out their plan, on June 17 h the French showed a flag of truce. After a siege of seven weeks Louisburg capitulated, and Cape Breton Island came into possession of the English.

The colonists rejoiced. France was thunderstruck and made two efforts to retrieve her fortunes in this quarter. In 1746 a fleet was sent out under the Duke d'Anville. The commander died, his successor committed suicide, and shipwreck broke up the fleet. Another expedition sent the next year was defeated by an English squadron.

So England held Louisburg during the war. But when the conflict was ended by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the island of Cape Breton was given back to France. None of the disputed boundaries were settled and nothing remained of the advantage

which the lives and labors of the colonists had done so much to obtain.

Here we close the separate history of Massachusetts. The French and Indian War, which soon burst upon the colonies, brought them closer together than ever before. And soon after were heard the mutterings of the mighty Revolution, when we shall find Massachusetts taking the firm stand for liberty and exhibiting the self-sacrificing patriotism which we might expect from the descendants of the Puritans.

CHAPTER XVI.

NEW YORK UNDER THE DUTCH.

Manhattan Island settled—Peter Minuit—The patroons—Attempt to settle in Delaware—Wouter van Twiller—The Dutch and the Pilgrims o the Connecticut—New Sweden settled—William Kieft—Trouble with the Swedes—Indian war—Kieft's treachery—Peter Stuyvesant—The Connecticut boundary—The Swedes are overcome—Difficulties with the Indians—The Duke of York obtains a patent—The English gain possession of New Amsterdam.

We have already narrated how Henry Hudson, in the employ of the Duch East India Company, discovered in 1609 the river that bears his name, and how the earliest settlement was made on Manhattan Island in 1614.

A new company, called the Dutch West India Company, was organized in 1621, and the States General of Holland granted to this corporation the right to plant colonies and maintain almost unlimited control over them for a period of twenty-four years. Any part of the Atlantic coast of North or South America was placed at their disposal.

It was under the control of this company that Manhattan Island was permanently settled. Thirty families of Walloons, or Dutch Protestants, arrived in 1623, under the leadership of Cornelius May, and settled at New Amsterdam, which afterward became New York, the metropolis of the country. In the same year Fort Orange was built on the present site of Albany, to take the place of Fort Nassau, near by, which had been carried away by a flood.

The first governor appointed by the Dutch West India Company was Peter Minuit, who arrived in 1626. The colony wished to treat the Indians fairly and this same year bought from them Manhattan Island, an area of 14,000 acres, for sixty guilders, or about twenty-four dollars. A fort was built at the lower end of the island, and settlements were also made on the Long Island shore at Brooklyn and Wallabout.

In 1629 the governing company planned a new method of colonization. They agreed to give certain limited portions of land to proprietors, called patroons, who would purchase their estates from the Indians and settle them.

Several persons at once accepted the offer. Samuel Godyn was one of these, and he chose part of the present state of Delaware for his domain. In 1631 a small colony was planted on Lewes Creek, near Cape Henlopen and De Vries, who had directed the settlers, went back to Holland.

In the latter part of the next year he returned, only to find the colony extinct. An Indian chief had been put to death, and in revenge the savages had completely destroyed the settlement. But it was to this short-lived colony that Delaware owes its separate existence as a state, for according to the English rule colonization was necessary to establish dominion over the wilderness.

Minuit was succeeded in 1633 by Wouter van Twiller as governor of New Netherlands. Trouble soon arose over the possession of the Connecticut valley, which in its lower part was claimed by both the English and the Dutch. Land had been purchased from the Indians and a Dutch block-house built in 1633 on the present site of Hartford. In the latter part of the year a vessel from Plymouth sailed up the stream, disregarded the protests of the Dutch, and built Fort Windsor above Hartford. In 1635 Saybrook was

founded by the English on the lower part of the Connecticut, and the Dutch finally withdrew from their advanced post.

And now another nation was to come into conflict with New Netherlands. Peter Minuit had entered the employ of Sweden, and in 1637 started with a company of Swedes and Finns to the New World. They purchased from the Indians the western shore of Delaware Bay and of the Delaware River as far north as Trenton Falls, calling the territory New Sweden. The colonists arrived in 1638 and made the first permanent settlement in the state of Delaware. The spot chosen for the fort, near the head of the bay, was named Christiana, in honor of the child-queen of Sweden. It is within the present limits of the city of Wilmington.

Prosperity visited the Swedish colony, which aroused the envy of New Netherlands. William Kieft had succeeded Van Twiller in 1638 as governor of the Dutch. He sent a protest to the Swedes against their occupation of what he claimed to be Dutch territory. They paid no attention to this remonstrance. Kieft, therefore, sent a company to rebuild the Dutch fort Nassau which had once existed for a short time on the Delaware River a few miles below Camden. To protect themselves the Swedes built a strong fort in 1643 on the island of Tinicum, a few miles south of Philadelphia, and this was the earliest settlement within the territory of Pennsylvania. Then, for a time, the dispute rested.

Meanwhile the Dutch had become involved in a disastrous Indian war. Disputes between fraudulent traders and drunken savages had aroused a bitter feeling. The Indians of Jersey crossed to Staten Island and massacred the inhabitants.

New Amsterdam sent soldiers against the natives, but they accomplished nothing. A bounty was offered

for every Indian of the Raritans who should be captured. A short truce was broken by the son of a chieftain who killed a white man. Kieft demanded the murderer. The Indians offered to pay a heavy fine of wampum, but would not give up the warrior.

Now a party of the Mohawks came down the river, claiming the obedience of the southern tribes. The Algonquins begged the Dutch to protect them. They met with treachery instead of help. Kieft sent a band of men who crossed the Hudson and stole upon the natives in the night. Nearly 100 Indians were massacred.

When the natives discovered that it was the Dutch and not the hostile Indians who had committed this atrocity, they rose in arms from Jersey to Connecticut. Frightful massacre ensued among the scattered farms. Among those who perished was Anne Hutchinson, whom we have heard of in the history of Massachusetts. After her exile from that colony she had gone to Rhode Island and thence to New Netherlands.

A severe blow must be given the Indians. One hundred and twenty men, in 1643, were placed under the command of John Underhill, a refugee from New England. He gained victories over the Indians till they desired peace. A treaty was made in 1645 and the war was ended.

Kieft had made himself thoroughly obnoxious to the colonists by this time. The trouble with the Indians was largely due to his cruelty and vindictiveness. The people petitioned that he be removed, and the Dutch West India Company, in 1647, appointed Peter Stuyvesant to succeed him. Kieft met his death by the wreck of the vessel in which he sailed for Europe.

Peter Stuyvesant was a man of the strongest will, stubborn and arbitrary enough at times, but thoroughly honest and in the main wise withal He im-

mediately set about conciliating the Indians, and acted so prudently and kindly toward them that the most intimate and friendly relations were speedily established between the natives and the Dutch.

The monopoly of the Dutch West India Company was abolished about this time, and the trade and commerce of the colony prospered greatly by the change.

Fears were still entertained that the eastern colonies would encroach on the Dutch domain. Embassadors from the New England colonies, therefore, met Governor Stuyvesant at Hartford in 1650 and a boundary-line was settled. It passed north and south through Long Island in the neighborhood of Oyster Bay on the northern shore, and on the main-land corresponded very nearly with the present western boundary of Connecticut. The colonies, the West India Company, and the government of Holland agreed to this treaty, but England refused to consider it favorably.

Stuyvesant next gave his attention to the Swedes, who, he considered, had invaded Dutch territory. An expedition sailed in 1651 to Delaware Bay and built Fort Casimir on the spot where New Castle now stands. Governor Rising, of the Swedish colony, captured the fort by stratagem in 1654.

The West India Company, in consequence of this act, ordered Stuyvesant to conquer or drive out the Swedes. The Dutch governor, therefore, raised 600 men and in 1655 sailed to Delaware. The opposing colonists hardly numbered more than the Dutch army. Their forts were captured and in a short time the authority of the Dutch was recognized. A few refractory persons only were sent out of the territory.

The Algonquin Indians seized the opportunity offered by Stuyvesant's absence in Delaware to rise against New Amsterdam, where they committed

some depredations. When the governor returned he speedily quieted them and granted favorable terms of peace.

Eight years later, in 1663, trouble broke out with the river Indians. The savages fell upon Kingston and destroyed it, murdering sixty-five of the settlers. A Dutch force pursued and vanquished them, and peace was restored in the spring of the next year by a treaty.

Difficulties internal and external arose around Stuyvesant, but the sturdy governor struggled bravely along. The territory which he had wrested from the Swedes was claimed by Virginia and by Maryland. Connecticut and Massachusetts threatened encroachments on New Netherlands. The Dutch settlers looked with envy on the prosperity of the New Englands colonies. Their own progress had not been correspondingly rapid, and for this they blamed the management of the West India Company.

A grievous blow was awaiting the Dutch rule in New Netherlands. In 1664 the Duke of York, who afterward ruled England as James II., obtained from his brother Charles II. a patent for the country extending from the Connecticut to the Delaware. He immediately set about acquiring the territory. A fleet, under Richard Nicolls, was sent to America and reached New Amsterdam in August. A camp was established in Brooklyn, and Long Island submitted to the English.

The Dutch governor demanded the reason of this invasion. He was informed that the English meant to obtain New Netherlands, by force if necessary. All who submitted were promised the rights of Englishmen.

The principal inhabitants of the city were assembled. They desired to surrender, wishing to avoid bloodshed, and contending that they would be better

off under English rule. The governor argued and expostulated in vain; he raged and stormed; but the people would not support him, and the sturdy old soldier was forced to capitulate. On September 8th the English entered the town, and its name was changed to New York, which was also made the title of the whole province.

Fort Orange and the other settlements under Dutch control soon submitted, and there was now not a single spot on the Atlantic coast, from the French possessions in the north to the Spanish dominion in Florida, that was not under the English flag.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW YORK UNDER THE ENGLISH.

Nicolls is made governor—The Dutch regain New Netherlands—The province finally comes under English authority—Sir Edmund Andros becomes governor—Attempts to gain possession of Connecticut and New Jersey—Dougan's administration—A treaty made with the Five Nations—Jacob Leisler—Slaughter is made governor—Execution of Leisler and Milborne—Fletcher's governorship—King William's War—Bellomont becomes governor—Captain Kidd—Queen Anne's War—Relations with the Indians—The freedom of the press secured—The Negro Plot.

Richard Nicolls became the first English governor of New York, and at once set about settling the boundaries of his province. He purchased the claim of the Earl of Stirling to Long Island, derived from a grant half a century previously. Connecticut also claimed the eastern part of the island. That colony was compensated for the disregard of her claim on the island by a change in her southwest boundary.

The region which had been known as New Sweden, now called the Territories, was also ruled by the governor of New York through deputies, but the district that corresponded very nearly with the present state of New Jersey came under the sway of other proprietors, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, to whom it had been granted.

Nicolls was followed by Lovelace as governor in 1667. The liberties of the people, which under the first English governor had failed of the promised pro-

tection, were now still further curtailed. Several towns on Long Island, and even the peaceable Swedes, resisted the tax-gatherers and declared their exactions illegal.

War broke out again between England and Holland in 1672. A fleet was sent from Holland to New York the next year. The governor was away, his deputy was afraid to fight, the people, dissatisfied with English rule, offered no resistance. On July 30, 1673, New York surrendered. New Jersey and Delaware followed her example, and Holland once more possessed her old territory under the former name of New Netherlands.

But the Dutch did not long retain their conquest. A treaty of peace between England and Holland in 1674 restored the province to England. The Duke of York secured a new patent from the king. The Dutch withdrew from the city on October 31st and Sir Edmund Andros became governor. From this time till the Revolution New York remained an English province.

From what we have heard of Andros in New England we may suspect that he ruled with no light hand. But his tyranny, arbitrary actions, and illegal taxes so roused the people to demand a popular assembly that even Andros advised the Duke of York to grant their wish. But the proprietor, saying that such a body would be dangerous to peace and he saw no use for it, returned a negative answer.

The Duke of York maintained that his patent gave him control of all the territory from the Connecticut River to Maryland, and Andros set about asserting this claim. He sailed with a company of soldiers to Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1675. But there he met such a firm front in the militia that he was obliged to withdraw.

Andros also attempted to maintain the claim of his

master in respect to New Jersey. He decreed that ships entering or leaving ports of New Jersey should pay duty at New York, but this order was openly violated. He attempted to frighten the people into submission by the arrest of the deputy-governor, Philip Carteret. He was rewarded, however, only with stubborn resistance for his pains, and the troubles did not end till the question was referred to an impartial tribunal, which decided adversely to the claim of the Duke of York. He acquiesced in the decision in 1680. Two years later Delaware came under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, where it remained till the Revolution.

The career of Andros as governor ended in 1683. Thomas Dougan, a Catholic, succeeded him. He came authorized by the duke to organize a popular assembly, which was at last granted to the long-continued demand of the colonists.

This assembly, in the first year of Dougan's administration, declared that the legislative power of the province lay in the governor, the council, and the people. Suffrage was granted to all freeholders, trial by jury was established, taxes were to be levied only by permission of the popular representatives, and other wise and liberal provisions were made. It is especially to be noted that every one who acknowledged the fundamental principles of religion was guaranteed protection.

In 1684 the sachems of the Five Nations—the Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas—met the governors of New York and Virginia at Albany and made a mutual treaty of peace. The French tried in vain to induce the Indians to violate this compact; the Five Nations remained faithful and stood as a wall of defense between the New York settlements and Canada.

Charles II. died in 1685, and his brother, the Duke

of York, succeeded to the throne, reigning under the name of James II. He now took a backward step with reference to his province. The popular assembly was abolished and an arbitrary and despotic rule ensued.

We have read in the history of Massachusetts that in 1686 Edmund Andros became governor of New England. He sent Francis Nicholson to bring New York under his sway. That province remained a dependency of New England till 1689. The English people had deposed James II. in the previous year. Then New York rose against Nicholson and he was driven out.

The guiding spirit in this insurrection was Jacob Leisler. He obtained the surrender of the fort of New York and organized a provisional government, to exist until William III., the king of England, should ordain another. The friends of Nicholson went to Albany, where they pursued a like course.

In the fall of 1689 Milborne, Leisler's son-in-law, was sent to demand the surrender of Albany, but he failed to accomplish his object. King William's War now broke out, during which Schenectady was overwhelmed by the French and Indians, and the colony joined with Connecticut in organizing the fruitless land expedition against Montreal. These events have already been noted in the history of Massachusetts.

Milborne once more attempted to overthrow the rival government at Albany. This time he was successful, and Leisler was in 1690 recognized as the temporary governor of the province.

In the first month of 1691 Richard Ingoldsby reached New York with a captain's commission. He brought the news that Colonel Sloughter had been appointed by the king as governor. Leisler refused to surrender the fort to Ingoldsby, claiming that the demand to do so was unauthorized by the king or royal governor,

whose rights he was perfectly ready to admit. Sloughter himself arrived in March, and Leisler sent messengers to him offering submission. The messengers were arrested and Ingoldsby dispatched to receive the surrender. Leisler desired to give the place into the governor's own hands, but, treated with scorn, he finally capitulated to Ingoldsby. He and Milborne were at once thrown into prison.

Their trial for rebellion and treason came on. Dudley, chief justice of New England, rendered a decision unfavorable to the prisoners, and they were sentenced to death. Sloughter hesitated to carry out the sentence, but the royalists determined that the execution should take place. A banquet was prepared and the governor invited. When overcome by liquor he was induced to sign the death-warrant. No time was lost by the royalists. Lesler and Milborne were dragged from prison through a heavy rain on the following morning and were hanged on May 16th. But opinion afterward was more favorable to their memory. The attainder was removed from their families and their confiscated estates restored.

In this same year, 1691, the treaty with the Five Nations was renewed, and the next season the New York militia joined the Iroquois in an attack, which resulted successfully, on the French settlements. King William's War, it will be remembered, did not end till 1697.

On Sloughter's death Benjamin Fletcher became governor. He arrived in 1692 and at once renewed the treaty with the Five Nations.

The king desired to unite in one province all the territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware. Fletcher succeeded in achieving this result so far as New Jersey was concerned, but met in Hartford with such firmness that he soon retired from Connecticut

An attempt on the part of Fletcher to establish the Episcopal Church in his province was prevented by the general assembly, who placed this church on a level with the others.

The last attack during King William's War which New York sustained from the French was made in 1696. By the aid of the Iroquois this was successfully resisted, and Frontenac, governor of Canada, who led the expedition, was obliged to retreat. In the following year the war was ended by the treaty of Ryswick.

In 1698 Fletcher was succeeded by the Earl of Bellomont, under whose wise administration peace and prosperity visited the colony. His jurisdiction embraced also Massachusetts and New Hampshire, though Connecticut and Rhode Island remained separate.

This was the time when the famous Captain Kidd flourished. But he did not begin his career as a pirate. He set sail from England in a vessel commissioned as a privateer under the English flag, to help free the high seas from the pirates that infested it and to capture the merchant vessels of England's enemies. His ship was owned by the most worthy persons, Governor Bellomont himself being among the number. William Kidd, however, saw more profit in the career of a pirate and proved faithless to his trust. He continued for two years to practice piracy himself, and his course was not stopped till he appeared one day in the streets of Boston, where he was arrested. Being sent to England he was tried and hanged. From that day to this there has been a popular impression that Captain Kidd buried the vast treasures which he had gathered at points along our Atlantic coast, and many persons have searched on the shores of Long Island and elsewhere for the treasure.

Bellomont was succeeded in 1702 by Lord Corn-

bury, who proved a bad governor. This same year marked the union under one executive, though with separate assemblies, of New York and New Jersey, the proprietors of the latter province having given up their rights to the king. This union continued for thirty-six years.

The colonists received Cornbury on his arrival with favor, which soon turned into hatred because of his unprincipled and despotic course. The people petitioned for his removal, and appropriations were refused till the governor was financially ruined. In 1708 his political downfall also occurred, when he was superseded by Lord Lovelace. Cornbury was arrested for debt and he remained in prison till his father died, when, becoming a peer of England, he could no longer be imprisoned.

While Queen Anne's War was in progress, New York co-operated with the other colonies in the land expeditions against Canada. In the winter of 1709–10, and again in 1711, when Sir Hovenden Walker went to the St. Lawrence, the New York forces got as far north as Lake George, but each time the failure of the naval expedition compelled the withdrawal of the soldiers. New York gained nothing during this war but a heavy debt.

In 1713, the same year in which the war was ended by the treaty of Utrecht, the Tuscarora Indians of Carolina were driven out by the southern colonists. They journeyed northward to New York, where they made the sixth nation in the famous Indian confederacy. Several years later the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia met the sachems of the Six Nations at Albany and negotiated a treaty with them, by which the valuable fur-trade previously enjoyed by the French passed into the hands of the English. Oswego was established as a trading-post and later a fort was built there. The French

had in the meantime built a fort at Niagara and another at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain—places that were to become famous in the French and Indian War.

A great struggle was carried on in New York during the governorship of Crosby, who succeeded Burnett in 1732. The popular party maintained that the press should be allowed perfect freedom in criticising the acts of the government. The aristocratic party contended that this liberty would destroy all reverence for authority.

Finally matters were brought to a head by the arrest, on the charge of libel against the government, of an editor, Zenger, who had published unfavorable comments on the governor's actions. The trial took place in 1735, the prisoner being ably defended by Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia. A verdict of acquittal was given by the jury. The people were rejoiced, and the aldermen of New York made Hamilton a handsome present.

What is known as the Negro Plot occurred in the city of New York in 1741. Slavery had existed in the colony from an early period. Lately several fires had been attributed to the incendiary work of negroes. It was asserted that the slaves had made a plot to burn the city and overpower the whites. Freedom was offered to any slave who would divulge the plan. As a natural result, many stories were told and crowds of accused persons were arrested. Matters were carried to a greater length still. After a hasty and unfair trial, about twenty of the prisoners were hanged, others were burned to death, and more than seventy-five were transported. When the people finally recovered from their madness, it began to be suspected that no such plot as was alleged had ever existed. Such, at any rate, is the decision of later times.

From this time on we need not follow the individual history of New York. During King George's War her territory was invaded a number of times by the French and Indians, but little damage was suffered, thanks largely to the English alliance with the Mohawks.

The early years of the New York colony were not so prosperous as those of the last century, which have made the Empire State the first in the Union. In the middle of the eighteenth century her population was less than Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia. But her natural advantages of situation, climate, and soil, the Atlantic Ocean on the one side, the lakes on the other, the Hudson River, the fertile valleys, the magnificent harbor of New York, and her central position on the sea-coast, promised all the wealth and power which long since have fallen to her share. The Dutch and the English grew into one people, and their independent and liberal spirit has done much in the history of our country to advance the cause of popular freedom.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONNECTICUT.

First settlements in Connecticut—The Pequod War—The Pequods exterminated — New Haven settled — The New England union—The Dutch and English—Winthrop obtains a charter—Andros is repulsed at Saybrook—The Charter Oak—Fletcher is overawed—Yale College founded.

We have examined with some detail the history of the three chief colonies, Virginia in the south, Massachusetts in the east, and New York in the center. We now come to the colonies which demand less attention because of their smaller size, later period of formation, or less important history.

In 1630 the Council of Plymouth made a grant to the Earl of Warwick in the present state of Connecticut. The next year this grant passed into the hands of Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brooke, and others. We have already learned that the Dutch from New Netherlands, claiming the territory, built a fort on the site of Hartford in the early part of 1633. The Pilgrims of Massachusetts, however, claimed the territory, and Plymouth sent in this same year an expedition which sailed up the river past Hartford, despite the threats of the Dutch, and founded Windsor.

The first settlement under a commission from the proprietors was made in 1635 by the younger Winthrop, who was a worthy son of the distinguished governor of Massachusetts. He built a fort, which was named Saybrook, after two of the proprietors, at the mouth of the Connecticut, just in time to pre-

vent the passage up the river of a Dutch vessel. The Dutch at Hartford, finding that the English held the river above and below them, after a while withdrew.

Later in this year a company of emigrants from Massachusetts Bay reached the Connecticut valley, and they settled at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.

No sooner had the settlement of Connecticut begun than the colonists came into collision with the Indians. At the outbreak of the Pequod War those savages could count 700 warriors—a greater number, in proportion to the territory, than the Indians could boast in any other part of New England. The whites could muster but 200 soldiers.

THE FIRST CHURCH ERECTED IN CONNECTICUT. HARTFORD, 1638.

Difficulties commenced as early as 1633, when the crew of a Massachusetts trading-vessel were murdered on the Connecticut. The Indians sent messengers to Boston with presents and promises. A peace was arranged, but before long it was broken by the savages, who committed another murder. This was avenged by the white men. The savages were now all fury.

The Pequods sent an embassy to induce the Narragansett Indians to join them in the war against the English. They were well-nigh successful, but their attempt was finally frustrated by Roger Williams, who

took his life in his hands, went among the savages, and persuaded the Narragansetts to maintain peace. The Mohegans were also invited to join the Pequods, but they refused, and lent their aid to the opposite side.

Many savage acts of outrage and cruelty forced the three towns of Connecticut—Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield—to declare war in May, 1637. Their sixty soldiers were joined by seventy Mohegans, and twenty soldiers, sent by Sir Henry Vane from Massachusetts, added to the force.

Under Captain John Mason, of Hartford, the company sailed down the Connecticut and thence eastward, passing the Thames and Mystic rivers, where the Pequods were massed in greatest force. Mason landed on the shore of Narragansett Bay, and after a vain attempt to persuade the neutral Narragansetts to join him, marched to the south and west.

They came to the Mystic River and surrounded the Pequod fort. Before day broke they made a sudden onslaught upon the Indians. Roused by the barking of a dog, the savages fought with desperation, and defeat threatened the English. Mason started a fire among the light mats of the cabins. Soon they were ablaze. The English surrounded the Indians and fired on all who attempted to escape. The victory was complete. At the cost of two killed and twenty wounded the English had broken the power of the Pequods. Six hundred men, women, and children perished. A few were made prisoners, and only a handful, the sachem, Sassacus, among the number, escaped. Sassacus met his death among the Mohawks, to whom he had fled for protection. In the morning 300 Pequods came from another fort in the neighborhood, expecting to find their brethren exulting in victory. Finding instead a ruined town and heaps of their friends slain, they betook themselves to the

woods. Mason returned to Hartford. More soldiers came from Massachusetts. The Pequods were hunted down till nearly all had been killed or captured. The prisoners were given to the Narragansetts and Mohegans as servants or were sold as slaves. Their nation was extinct.

The pursuit of the Pequods had led the soldiers to the shores of Long Island Sound west of Saybrook Some of the Massachusetts men built cabins and remained for the winter. In the next year, 1638, New Haven was made a permanent settlement by the arrival of a company of Puritans from England by way of Boston, under Theophilus Eaton and their pastor, John Davenport.

New Haven commenced its career under an organized government in 1639, the Bible being adopted as the constitution of the colony. Annual elections were provided for, but the right of suffrage was allowed only to church-members. Eaton was re-elected for nearly twenty consecutive years, and managed the affairs of the colony with great wisdom.

Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, which had hitherto been subject to Massachusetts, organized a liberal government of their own in 1639. They were known as Connecticut. In 1643 Connecticut and New Haven united with Massachusetts and Plymouth in forming the union of New England, and in the next year Saybrook was obtained by purchase and annexed to Connecticut.

The danger of Dutch interference seemed to be removed when Governor Stuyvesant, of New York, met the delegates of New England at Hartford in 1650 and arranged a treaty. But war soon broke out between England and Holland. Connecticut and New Haven, left without support by the other members of the union, called on Cromwell for aid. Stuyvesant had been suspected of urging the Indians to attack

the English. Peace was declared, however, before any casualties occurred.

When monarchy was restored in England in 1660, Connecticut at once recognized the authority of Charles II. She desired a royal charter, and drawing up one to suit her own notions, sent Winthrop to England to obtain the king's assent. He succeeded in his endeavor in 1662, partly by the aid of Lord Say-and-Seal and other friends, partly by the exhibition of a ring which the king's father, Charles I., had given as a pledge of friendship to Winthrop's grandfather.

The charter was exceedingly liberal, and Connecticut was made practically independent of all interference. Her territory extended from Narragansett Bay and River west to the Pacific. New Haven was thus joined to the commonwealth of Connecticut.

Winthrop, by his wisdom, ability, and success in their cause, had endeared himself to the colonists of Connecticut. He was re-elected for fourteen years as the governor of the colony, which prospered greatly under his administration. During King Philip's War Connecticut aided the other colonies against the Indians, but her villages never suffered from attacks by the savages.

In 1675, when Sir Edmund Andros was governor of New York, he came with armed sloops to Connecticut to bring the colony under the jurisdiction of the Duke of York. The assembly of the colony had been convened, and orders were given to Captain Bull, who commanded the fort at Saybrook, to resist this attempt. Andros hoisted the English flag and demanded surrender. Bull displayed the same banner and refused. Andros landed and a parley ensued. He ordered the duke's patent and his own commission to be read. Bull, in the king's name, commanded that he desist. The firmness of the Connecticut

militia finally frightened him into withdrawing with his soldiers.

Once more Andros came into collision with the spirit of the Connecticut colony. In 1686 he was made governor of New England. The next year he came to Hartford, seized the minutes of the assembly, and wrote *Finis* at the end. He demanded the charter. The original or a duplicate was brought out and lay on a table while Governor Treat was pleading to retain it. Darkness came on, the lights were extinguished, and before they could be rekindled Joseph Wadsworth, of Hartford, had secured the document. It is said that he preserved it in the Charter Oak which long stood in Hartford. Andros, however, maintained his authority until the English Revolution of 1688. His power was overthrown with that of his master, James II., and the next year Connecticut regained her freedom.

THE CHARTER OAK.

In 1693, when Fletcher was governor of New York, he went to Hartford to take command of the militia. Connecticut considered this a violation of her charter and refused to recognize his authority. The story runs that the soldiers were assembled and Fletcher commenced to read his commission as colonel. He was hindered by Captain Wadsworth, of Connecticut, who ordered the drums to be beaten. "Silence!" said Fletcher, and proceeded with his reading. "Drum!" shouted Wadsworth. "Silence!" once more cried Fletcher. This was too much for the spirit of Wads-

worth. He stepped forward and said: "Colonel Fletcher, if I am interrupted again I will let the sunshine through your body in an instant." Fletcher withdrew.

In 1700 Yale College was founded by several clergymen. Saybrook was its first site, and the first commencement was held there in 1702. In 1716 it was removed to New Haven, and two years later it took its present name in honor of a liberal patron, Elishu Yale. New Haven is still proud of containing one of the earliest and foremost institutions of learning in the country.

During the first half of the eighteenth century Connecticut pursued a peaceful and prosperous career, attended with few stirring events.

CHAPTER XIX.

RHODE ISLAND.

Roger Williams—Providence settled—Relations with the Indians—Newport founded—A democracy established—Williams secures a charter—The charter renewed by Charles II.—Andros assumes authority—His overthrow.

When Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts Bay in 1636 he wandered for some time among the savages, from whom he met with great kindness. He returned their good feeling and was always the friend of the Wampanoags and Narragansetts.

At Seekonk, not far from the head of Narragansett Bay, he built a shelter and began to till the soil. But Plymouth claimed the territory. Williams, therefore, embarked in a canoe with five companions and finally came to a spot which he called Providence, in recognition of God's mercy shown toward him. Land was purchased from the Narragansetts, other exiles joined the first, and in June, 1636, the colony of Providence Plantations was begun.

Williams was one of a sect known as the Anabaptists, who disputed the efficacy of infant baptism. He had been baptized when a child, but now desired in his manhood to receive baptism once more. He selected a layman to perform the ceremony on him, and then he himself baptized several persons; thus was started the first Baptist Church in this country.

Roger Williams was of course the leading spirit in

the colony, but he took no great authority to himself. The colonists made a simple agreement among themselves to observe the will of the majority, and in questions of religion to leave each man to follow the dictates of his own conscience.

Under this simple and liberal policy the colony prospered. Williams had so won the confidence of Miantonomoh, sachem of the Narragansetts, that he was able to give notice of the Pequod conspiracy and prevent the Narragansetts from joining it. This action awoke the gratitude of many of the Massachusetts colonists, who proposed that Williams and his friends should be recalled from banishment. Bigoted opinions, however, prevailed and the suggestion was not adopted. During the Pequod War Providence Plantations was saved from invasion by the intervening tribe of friendly Narragansetts.

In 1638 Anne Hutchinson arrived with some of her friends, chief among whom were John Clarke and William Coddington. They had intended to journey further before settling, but Governor Vane, of Massachusetts, induced Miantonomoh to make them a present of Aquidneck, or Rhode Island. Here they settled at Portsmouth and organized a colony after the pattern of the Jewish nation. In 1639 more modern notions were introduced into the plan of government, and in the same year Newport was founded.

In 1641 a more perfect government was organized by these settlers and called the Plantation of Rhode Island. This "democracie," or government by the people, was to be governed by the vote of a majority of the freemen, and religious liberty was as great as in the Providence Plantations.

When the union of New England was formed in 1643, Providence and Rhode Island were refused admission because of their religious liberality. It

looked as if they were to be claimed by Plymouth as under her jurisdiction. Roger Williams was therefore sent to London to obtain a charter, which he succeeded in securing in 1644. The first assembly under this charter met in 1647 at Portsmouth, and a president and other officers were chosen. The religious tolerance of the colony remained unchanged.

In 1651 William Coddington obtained a decree from the English council of state separating Rhode Island from the common government. Roger Williams went again to London and secured a revocation of the decree. The people desired that the English council should commission him as governor of the province, but Williams refused to accept the honor.

John Clarke had aided Williams in having the separation annulled. He remained in England and was of great aid in obtaining a renewal of the charter when monarchy was restored in England. It was a matter of doubt whether Charles II. would renew an instrument granted by the Parliament which had waged war against his father. The colonists, therefore, were filled with rejoicings when he signed it in 1663, with no diminution of its liberality. Under the provisions of this charter Rhode Island was governed till 1843, even after the colony had become a state.

During King Philip's War Rhode Island suffered considerably, but in her general prosperity this damage was forgotten. Her liberties, however, suffered much loss in 1687, when Andros, the governor of New England, took away her charter and appointed five councillors to manage her affairs.

When, in 1689, the news of the English Revolution reached Rhode Island, the colonists desired to reestablish their old government. They elected a governor, who declined to serve, and then another, who

also refused. Finally Henry Bull, one of the original founders of the colony and now an old man, consented to act as their ruler, and under his administration their old liberties were restored.

Rhode Island, though small in the extent of her territory, will always be remembered as the colony wherein the first government known to the history of the Christian world founded on the principles of individual liberty of conscience was established; and for maintaining these principles and aiding so wisely and effectively in their adoption and practice, the memory of Roger Williams will always be revered.

CHAPTER XX.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The grant to Gorges and Mason—Portsmouth and Dover settled—New Hampshire joined to Massachusetts—Is made a separate royal province—Governor Cranfield—Authority of Andros in New Hampshire—Land troubles.

In 1622 the Council of Plymouth granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason the territory lying between the Kennebec and Merrimac rivers and extending from the ocean to the St. Lawrence.

The proprietors at once took steps to secure their domain, and sent out colonists. Some of these settled in 1623 at Little Harbor, two miles south of the present site of Portsmouth, and others founded Dover. Portsmouth and Dover are therefore among the oldest New England towns, but for many years these two villages were small and inhabited chiefly by fishermen.

The proprietors divided their territory in 1629, Mason obtaining the region between the Piscataqua and the Merrimac and Gorges taking the remainder. In the same year Rev. John Wheelright, who afterward was known in Massachusetts as one of the partisans of Anne Hutchinson, purchased from the Abenaki Indians their claims to the land which Mason held. In 1630, however, Mason received a new patent confirming his title, and the province was henceforth known as New Hampshire instead of Laconia. Massachusetts soon began to assert her rights to its jurisdiction.

After the death of Mason in 1635 his widow managed the affairs of the colony for a few years. She was not equal to the task, however, and the expenses exceeded the revenues. The scattered inhabitants of the province were, therefore, left to themselves. When Anne Hutchinson and her friends were banished from Massachusetts, Wheelright and others went northward and founded a colony at Exeter on liberal principles.

When the government of Massachusetts began to settle into a more firm and liberal shape, the colonists of New Hampshire became willing and even anxious to be taken under its jurisdiction. In 1642, by the act of her own colonists, New Hampshire was made a part of Massachusetts, on equal terms with the rest of that colony. In fact, the settlers of Dover and New Hampshire were allowed more religious freedom than the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay. They were not Puritans, and therefore it was agreed that church-membership should not be the test of a freeman.

This union lasted for thirty-seven years. The heirs of the original proprietor, meanwhile, had laid claim to the province, and the courts of England had decided that their claim was good as regarded the soil of New Hampshire, though invalid as to its government. Then it was argued that the courts of Massachusetts would never decide in favor of the heirs of Mason in their claims against the possessors of the ground; it was contended that colonial courts could not be established except in a separate colony. King Charles II., therefore, decreed in 1679 that New Hampshire should henceforth be a royal province, and Edward Cranfield was named as governor.

Before Cranfield arrived the colonists had called a popular assembly, which declared that no law should be valid without the consent of the people and their representatives. In 1682 Cranfield dismissed the as-

sembly. The people were enraged at this exhibition of despotism. They resisted the attempts of the royal officers to collect rents. The governor ordered out the militia. Not a soldier responded. The stubbornness of the people was too much for Cranfield to bear, and he wrote to England requesting to be relieved from his unpleasant position. Thus the colonists shook off their unpopular governor.

A renewal of the union with Massachusetts was now desired, but before this could be consummated Andros became governor of New England. New Hampshire could do nothing where stronger provinces failed, and therefore submitted to his authority. But in 1689, as we have read, Massachusetts imprisoned the tyrant, and New Hampshire also became free once more.

A general assembly, which met at Portsmouth the next year, passed an act uniting New Hampshire with Massachusetts, but two years later this action was reversed by the English government, and the two provinces were once more separated. When the Earl of Bellomont became governor of New York in 1698, Massachusetts and New Hampshire were added to his jurisdiction, and from this time till 1741 the two latter colonies were joined under the same royal government.

The difficulties about the land had meanwhile continued. The claims of Mason's heirs had been transferred in 1691 to one Samuel Allen. A relation of his, Usher by name, was appointed deputy-governor, and he made numerous vain attempts to gain possession of the land. After Allen died his heirs gave up their endeavors in 1715. But later on a descendant of Mason discovered a defect in the deed that had been made to Allen, and once more an attempt, useless as the others, was made to recover the soil. The matter was finally settled by allowing the Masonian claim to

the unoccupied parts of the province on a surrender of all claims to the remainder.

During the wars with the French and the Indians New Hampshire suffered severely, but her settlers were hardy and gradually recovered from these blows. The colony at first grew slowly; thirty years after its foundation Portsmouth numbered but fifty or sixty families. But the rugged climate and the difficulties through which they passed developed in New Hampshire a robust, independent, and patriotic people.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW JERSEY.

Early settlements—Berkeley and Carteret become proprietors—Elizabethtown settled—The government of the colony—Land troubles—Berkeley sells his interest—It comes into the hands of Penn and other Quakers—East and West Jersey—The Duke of York relinquishes his claims—East Jersey purchased by the Quakers—The authority of Andros in Jersey—New Jersey becomes a royal province.

The first settlement in New Jersey seems to have been a trading-station established in 1618 at Bergen, opposite New Amsterdam; but permanent houses were not built here till 1658. Fort Nassau was built in 1623 by the Dutch but was soon vacated. In 1634 not a single white man lived in the part of the territory south of Camden. In 1651 a grant was made that included the site of Elizabethtown, but no settlements were made therein, and in 1658 a grant including Bergen was made and that place became a permanent settlement.

The first English settlement, however, from the date of which the history of New Jersey fairly begins, did not take place till 1664. The territory had been included in the grant which Charles II. made to his brother James, Duke of York, and by him it had been assigned to the proprietors of Carolina, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Shortly after the Duke of York obtained possession of his province, Governor Nicolls granted a tract of land on Newark Bay to a

company of Puritans, and in October, 1664, Elizabethtown was settled.

In 1665 Philip Carteret, son of one of the proprietors, came with a commission as governor. Nicolls, although he would not at first believe that the Duke of York had disposed of part of his territory, could not prevent Carteret from taking possession. Elizabethtown was made the capital of the province. Newark and other villages were established, and the territory was named New Jersey, after the island of Jersey in the English Channel, of which Sir George Carteret had been governor.

A liberal constitution was given to the colony, though the proprietors were royalists. A governor, a council, and a popular assembly were provided for, taxes were to be levied only with the consent of the people's representatives, and freedom of conscience was guaranteed. Berkeley and Carteret kept in their own hands the appointment of governor and judges and the right of veto on acts of the assembly. The settlers were given the land for a quit-rent of half a penny an acre, which was not to be called for till 1670.

The first assembly met in 1668 and was almost wholly composed of Puritans. Everything went smoothly till the quit-rents became due. By this time the settlers had bought their lands from the Indians and from Nicolls, of New York, who still maintained his right to Jersey. They resisted, therefore, the collection of the rents, and in 1672 the assembly deposed the governor. In his place was chosen George Carteret, another son of Sir George.

We have read that in 1673 the Dutch regained possession of New Netherlands, which included New Jersey, and retained their hold on the territory for a few months. Then the Duke of York came once more into possession of his province, which by a new

charter extended from the Connecticut to the Delaware. He confirmed his previous grant to Berkeley and Carteret, but in spite of this appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of the whole territory. Carteret was not inclined to withdraw his claim, but Berkeley, reasonably enough disgusted at this procedure, sold his interest to John Fenwick as trustee for Edward Byllinge.

Philip Carteret returned and resumed his governorship in 1675. How Andros showed his tyrannical nature in New Jersey; how he ordered vessels trading with and from that province to pay duties at New York; and how he finally arrested Philip Carteret, we have already learned. In the meantime Byllinge became involved in debt, and an assignment for the benefit of his creditors had been made to certain trustees, among whom was William Penn.

The sect of Quakers, to which these trustees belonged, had suffered persecution in England in common with other religious bodies that dissented from the Established Church. Here was a good opportunity for providing a refuge for them from the oppression they endured. A division of New Jersey was proposed to Sir George Carteret. The proposition met with favor in his eyes, and an agreement was made in 1676 by which the territory was divided into East and West Jersey. The two portions were separated by an imaginary line running from Little Egg Harbor on the Atlantic coast to a point on the Delaware in latitude forty-one degrees and forty minutes. The eastern part remained in the possession of Carteret, while the western part went to Penn and the other trustees of Byllinge.

Early in the next year the proprietors of West Jersey gave to the people a body of laws which they termed concessions—a simple and liberal code. The Quakers of England were invited to the New World, and before long a colony of 400 arrived.

At New Castle, on the Delaware, an agent of the Duke of York obliged ships ascending to New Jersey to pay tribute. The Quakers maintained that this was a violation of their rights and sent a remonstrance to England. The matter was referred to an impartial commission, which decided that the Duke of York was in the wrong. Obstinate though he was, he acquiesced in the decision, and in 1680 relinquished all claim to the territory and the government of West Jersey. The heirs of Sir George Carteret were not slow in obtaining a similar deed freeing East Jersey from all interference.

The first general assembly of West Jersey met in 1681 and reaffirmed the concessions. Perfect equality of all men in the eye of the law was the corner-stone of the government. No one was to be imprisoned for debt. No liquor was to be sold to the Indians and their lands were to be purchased.

The province of East Jersey was obtained by purchase in 1682 by William Penn and eleven other Friends, as the Quakers call themselves. Robert Barclay, a Scotch Quaker, was appointed governor for life over the united provinces. During his administration Scotch Quakers and Presbyterians came in large numbers to New Jersey.

We have already been obliged to refer many times to the appointment of Andros as royal governor of New England in 1686. We have seen how Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York all came under his sway. New Jersey, the most southerly province over which his jurisdiction extended, came into his power in 1688 with New York. But the next year he was overthrown and Jersey was free from his tyranny.

Difficulties, however, encompassed her path. Both East and West Jersey were claimed by the king, by New York, by Penn and his fellow-Quakers. East

Jersey, moreover, had other claimants in the persons of Carteret's representatives, and West Jersey in the heirs of Byllinge. For several years there was no stable government, and for ten years longer the troubles caused by these rival claims did not cease.

Finally an arrangement was effected by which the governmental rights to the territory were yielded to the crown, and in 1702 New Jersey became a royal province.

At first New Jersey and New York were united under one governor, though retaining their separate assemblies. But the people desired a complete separation. At last, in 1738, their prayer was granted, largely through the influence of Lewis Morris, who was made the first royal governor of the now separate province. It remained under the crown till the Revolution.

New Jersey suffered little from the wars with the Indians and French which affected New England severely. It was the colony that marked the separation between the Pilgrims of the east and the royalists of the south, and the union of sturdy Puritans and peaceful Quakers formed a happy combination.

CHAPTER XXII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn obtains a grant of land—His honesty and liberality—Delaware acquired—A treaty with the Indians—Philadelphia founded—Delaware separated—Penn loses his proprietorship—Regains it—Delaware and Pennsylvania again partly separated—Penn's trials and death—Mason and Dixon's line.

We have seen how largely the success of New Jersey was due to the Quakers. Now we come to another colony in which they were the originating and governing element.

William Penn, encouraged by the prospects in New Jersey, went to Charles I, and by the aid of powerful friends obtained in 1681 a grant of territory, which after him was named Pennsylvania His domain, bounded by the Delaware River on the east, extended westward for five degrees of longitude and north and south for three degrees of latitude The counties comprising the present state of Delaware remained in the possession of the Duke of York.

The humane principles of the Quakers found fit expression in the acts of Penn. He gave the Swedes who had settled within his territory to understand that they would not be disturbed. He promised also to all who would emigrate to his province equality and freedom of conscience. Three ships soon set sail with a colony of Quakers under William Markham as deputy-governor, who was instructed to practice justice to all men, and especially to make friends with the Indians.

Penn was not a man of large property, and his re-

sources had been impaired by the help he had given the persecuted brethren of his sect. The expenses of establishing colonies would be large, and a company of traders made him a tempting offer for a monopoly of the Indian traffic. He refused their offer with a noble spirit. Such a monopoly would have been contrary to his religious principles. He framed an extremely liberal constitution and submitted it to the colonists for ratification.

WILLIAM PENN.

Penn induced the Duke of York to give up to him the province of Delaware so that access to the ocean might be unhindered, and in 1682 he set sail from England with a large number of emigrants and landed at New Castle. Thence Penn proceeded up the Delaware, passed through the Jerseys, and staid for a while in New York, after which he returned to regulate his province.

The sachems of the Indian tribes were invited to a conference. Unarmed they met William Penn and a few friends equally defenseless. Penn called the Indians his brethren, promised to deal justly with them, and to settle all disputes by arbitration. The Indians agreed to live forever in peace with the Quakers. Though devoid of formalities, of writing and signing,

a more binding treaty was never made. The distinctive garb of the Quaker was always respected by the Indians as sacred, and as long as Pennsylvania remained under the control of the Quakers (for more than seventy years) no act of Indian outrage, such as happened in every other colony, occurred within her borders.

In December of the year in which he arrived, 1682, Penn called a convention of the people. They appeared by their representatives, and a liberal plan of government was adopted. Penn then had a conference with Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, in regard to the boundaries of the two provinces, but reached no decision.

Penn now selected a fine site for his capital, and the city of Philadelphia, which means "brotherly love," was laid out in the latter part of 1682 and the beginning of the next year.

The assembly soon met there and completed the organization of the government. Had it not been for Penn's hereditary office of proprietor, the colony would have been a thorough representative democracy. But he did not take advantage of his position; almost everything was left to the people, though Penn retained the right to veto acts of the council.

Philadelphia grew rapidly. In two years it contained 600 dwellings and in another twelvemonth it was larger than New York. After seeing the city well started on its prosperous career Penn returned to England in 1684.

In 1691 the three lower colonies which had constituted Delaware, becoming dissatisfied with the course of the general assembly, asked for a separation. Penn consented, though reluctantly, and a separate deputy-governor was appointed.

It was not long, however, that Delaware, or Pennsylvania either, was left to itself. When William and

Mary came to the English throne, in 1689, Penn fell under suspicion of too much friendliness for the exiled king, James II. In 1692 his proprietorship was taken away and Pennsylvania was placed under the jurisdiction of Governor Fletcher, of New York. In the next year the same course was pursued with Delaware. But finally Penn was found innocent of the suspicions against him, and he recovered Pennsylvania and Delaware.

In 1699 the proprietor visited his colony again. Amid the general prosperity the lower counties were still dissatisfied. In 1703 Delaware and Pennsylvania were finally separated, though both continued under the proprietorship of Penn and under a single governor.

In 1701 Penn returned to England, leaving his province peaceful, unarmed, and prosperous. He was able to prevent Pennsylvania's being made a royal colony in accordance with the design that the ministers entertained for all the colonies. Principles of peace continued to prevail in Pennsylvania and caused the removal in 1708 of a deputy-governor, John Evans, who had purchased munitions of war and attempted to organize a militia regiment.

In England, before his death in 1718, Penn suffered from the dishonesty of his English agent, who involved him in debt and actually had him imprisoned. After a confinement of several months he was released and ended his days in peace. His sons inherited his estates, and by them or their deputies Pennsylvania was governed till the Revolution. Their rights to the soil and government were purchased by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1779 for £130,000.

A German element was introduced into the colony about 1730, when a large immigration of that people commenced. They settled chiefly in the region adjacent to Philadelphia.

It will be remembered that Penn had been unable to arrive at any agreement with Lord Baltimore as to the latter's claim to Delaware. After Penn's return to England it was settled by competent authorities that Delaware was not a part of Maryland. The boundaries of Maryland, however, were not settled till they became a subject in chancery, and Lord Hardwicke decreed their extent in 1650. In 1664 two surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who had been employed to trace the boundary, commenced their work. Mason and Dixon's line, about which we shall hear in the troubles over the slavery question which preceded the Civil War of the Union, was completed by other surveyors and marked the southern boundary of Pennsylvania.

Such is the history of the colony that was founded on principles of greater freedom than any of the others. They bore magnificent fruit in the time of the Revolution. It was in Philadelphia that the delegates of the colonies discussed and signed the Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MARYLAND.

William Clayborne—The Catholics of England—Sir George Calvert establishes a colony in Newfoundland—He visits Virginia—Cecil, Lord Baltimore, obtains a grant of Maryland—St. Mary's founded—Difficulties with Clayborne—He is driven away—Afterward returns—He directs affairs for a year—Is overthrown—Liberal religious policy of the colony—Clayborne is appointed one of the commissioners to control the Chesapeake colonies—Internal dissensions—Harsh acts of the Protestant assembly—The Convention of Associates—Maryland becomes a royal province—It is restored to the Calverts.

A Catholic colony, but originally as free as the freest. A history full of internal dissensions, but largely from the acts of the Protestants.

After the explorations of Captain John Smith in the Chesapeake, we hear next of William Clayborne, who was sent by the London Company in 1621 to make a map of the upper part of the bay. That corporation, in its second charter, had acquired territory to the north of its first grant, so that it now claimed jurisdiction to the forty-first degree of latitude. Our present Delaware, Maryland, and a large part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were included in its domain.

Clayborne was an official and a man of prominence in Virginia. In 1631, acting under a commission, he established a trading-station on Kent Island and another near Havre de Grace, at the head of the bay.

Meanwhile events had occurred which ultimately threw Maryland into quite other hands. The Catholics of England, in common with the Puritans, had

suffered persecution from the Established Church. One of their faith was Sir George Calvert, who was afterward made Lord Baltimore—a man of much experience and of kindly disposition. To find a refuge in the New World for the members of his sect became a leading thought with him. He obtained from James I. a grant of part of Newfoundland, where he established a colony in 1623. But the soil and climate in this location were not such as to promise success, and Lord Baltimore saw that a more favorable spot must be chosen.

In 1629 he went to Virginia. But he was not favorably received there because of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance, which had been purposely framed so that no conscientious Catholic could accept it. The climate, however, delighted him, and he requested Charles I. to make him a grant of territory. This could be easily done, as the London Company had by this time been dissolved and Virginia was a royal province.

Lord Baltimore died before the charter could be granted. It was issued, therefore, to his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, in June, 1632. The territory granted was bounded on the north by the fortieth parallel of latitude, on the south by the Potomac and a line drawn from its mouth to the ocean, on the east by the Atlantic, and on the west by a line drawn north from the head-waters of the Potomac. This domain included considerably more than the present state of Maryland—so named by the king in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria. The people were to be their own law-makers, and the proprietor retained only the right of appointing officers. No religious sect was to receive special favor, though the principles of Christianity were recognized.

The second Lord Baltimore organized a colony which was intrusted to the care of his brother, Leon-

ard Calvert. In 1634 they reached America and were well received in Virginia, owing to a letter sent by the king to the governor of that province. Land was purchased from the Indians and a settlement was made on a stream flowing into the Potomac. The village was called St. Mary's, and the river is now known by the same name.

The Indians were treated with fairness and became the friends of the English. Everything prospered. In six months the colony had progressed more than Virginia had in as many years. It is worthy of note that this colony, founded by a Catholic, but of extreme liberality, was established two years before Roger Williams settled at Providence.

Before long a government was organized, and then trouble arose with Clayborne, who still occupied Kent Island and refused to recognize the rights of Lord Baltimore. He came into conflict with the rightful settlers in 1637 and suffered defeat. The settlement on Kent Island was vanquished and one or two executions followed.

Clayborne himself, however, fled to Virginia, the governor of which province refused to surrender him and sent him to England. The Maryland colony tried and condemned him, though absent, on charges of murder and piracy. In England Clayborne appealed to the king, and a committee of Parliament heard the case and decided that Lord Baltimore's claims were perfectly valid. Clayborne, however, escaped punishment.

Representative government on liberal principles was adopted in Maryland in 1639. Three years later hostilities began with the Indians, during the two years' continuance of which, however, the few and compact settlements suffered little damage.

The civil war had now commenced in England and the king was fully occupied with his own dangerous

fortunes. The opportunity was tempting to Clayborne, who came to Maryland in 1644 to stir up discord Early the next year an insurrection occurred, with Clayborne as leader. For a time he was successful. Leonard Calvert, the governor, was obliged to take refuge in Virginia. Clayborne destroyed the records of Maryland and for more than a year was master of the situation. Calvert meanwhile had collected a force and now returned to his province. In August, 1646, he succeeded in restoring his power. With the greatest humanity the rebels were pardoned by a general amnesty.

In 1649 the legislative body of the colony prescribed laws for securing religious freedom. Every one who believed in the cardinal principles of Christianity should be safe from persecution It was even made an offense, punishable with a fine, to use the harsh terms common in religious disputes. It was not strange that many Protestants should prefer a Catholic colony to the intolerance of Massachusetts toward all who were not Puritans or of Virginia toward dissenters from the Church of England.

This was the year in which Charles I. was beheaded. The power of Parliament became supreme. In 1651 commissioners, among whom was Clayborne, were appointed to take control of the colonies on the Chesapeake. On their arrival in Maryland Stone, the deputy of Lord Baltimore, was deposed from office. By a compromise he was afterward permitted to resume the government, and on the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653, he proclaimed that Clayborne and his associates had been guilty of a rebellious interference. Clayborne, on hearing of this proclamation, raised a force in Virginia, and entering Maryland, once more deposed Stone and appointed commissioners to rule in his stead.

By this time the Protestant party in Maryland had

reached large proportions. An assembly of this sect was convened at Patuxent in 1654. The supremacy of Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, was recognized in disregard of the rights of Lord Baltimore. Then, seeming to forget the leniency and equality with which they had been treated by the Catholics, they passed an act disfranchising the members of that sect.

This was too much to be borne and civil strife ensued. Stone, contending that he was still the rightful ruler, organized a force and marched against the opposing faction. A battle was fought near Annapolis, and the Catholics suffered defeat with the loss of fifty men in killed and wounded. Their leader was taken prisoner, but the friendship of some of the insurgents saved his life. Three others of the Catholic prisoners, however, were not so fortunate. They were tried and executed.

In 1656 Lord Baltimore sent Josiah Fendall as governor of his province, and for two years the Catholics governed at St. Mary's and the Protestants at Leonardstown. Then an arrangement was made by which Fendall was recognized as governor and the recent acts of the Protestant assemblies as valid. So peace was effected.

After the death of Cromwell, the assembly in 1660 declared the province independent of Lord Baltimore and the government was assumed by the house of burgesses. Charles II. restored the territory to Lord Baltimore, and Philip Calvert was sent as deputy-governor.

In 1675 Lord Baltimore died and his son Charles succeeded to the title. His proprietorship was as just and liberal as his father's had been.

Some years later, when the news reached Maryland that James II. had lost his throne, the deputy of Lord Baltimore hesitated to recognize the new sovereigns

William and Mary. This hesitation gave rise to a report that the Catholics were about to combine with the Indians in a massacre of the Protestants. Untrue as this rumor was, the Protestants assumed arms and in 1689 forced the Catholics to give up the government. For two years the Protestants ruled the province through a body known as the Convention of Associates.

In 1691 William III. took away Lord Baltimore's charter and made the colony a royal province. The old freedom was destroyed and the Episcopal Church established by law. But in 1715 Queen Anne restored Maryland to the heir of Lord Baltimore, and under the proprietorship of the Calverts it remained till the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Settlements on the Chowan and Cape Fear rivers—A charter granted to Lord Clarendon and others—The Albemarle County Colony—The Clarendon County Colony—The "Fundamental Constitutions" of Locke and Shaftesbury—Clarendon County is deserted—Popular revolt—Seth Sothel—His tyranny—He is driven out—Indian outbreak—The Tuscaroras vanquished—They march north and make the sixth nation in the New York confederacy—Separation of North and South Carolina—They become royal provinces.

The first attempts to found a colony within the limits of North Carolina were made by Sir Walter Raleigh, from 1585 to 1587. After his unsuccessful endeavors the country remained uninhabited save by the Indians for many years.

The first actual settlement was made in or about 1650 by a colony of Virginians near the mouth of the Chowan River. In 1661 a colony of Puritans entered the Cape Fear River and established themselves on Oldtown Creek.

In 1630 King Charles I. had made an extensive grant of territory that included North Carolina to Sir Robert Heath, but no colony being founded under this patent, it was finally revoked. In 1663 Charles II. gave a charter to Lord Clarendon and seven other noblemen, which covered the country from the St. John's River in Florida to the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude.

In the same year the settlers on the Chowan organized a government, chose William Drummond as gov-

ernor, and called themselves the Albemarle County Colony. It was soon discovered that their settlement was beyond the limits of the Clarendon grant, which was therefore extended in 1665 half a degree further north, to the present southern boundary of Virginia, and westward to the Pacific.

This year also marks the breaking up of the Puritan colony on the Cape Fear by the Indians. But a company of planters from Barbadoes immediately took their place, purchased the territory from the savages, elected Sir John Yeamans as their governor, and called themselves the Clarendon County Colony. The proprietors looked with favor on this settlement and it started on what seemed a prosperous career.

Now the proprietors of Carolina, anticipating a great growth of their colonies, determined to have a government as nearly perfect as possible. They assigned the preparation of the plan to Sir Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, a distinguished statesman. He called to his aid the famous philosopher, John Locke, who for several months worked away at his scheme. The "Fundamental Constitution" which he produced in 1669 was received with approbation by the proprietors and adopted. This "grand model" provided that political rights should depend on hereditary wealth, and orders of nobility were created—earls and barons. To us of to-day it seems ridiculous that sane men should expect to introduce such a feudal system among the pioneers of the new settlements; but it took twenty-four years to convince the proprietors of this fact.

The Albemarle County Colony prospered but the southern colony did not. The soil was poor and the traffic in staves and furs became exhausted. A colony had been established in 1670 at the mouth of the Ashley River, in South Carolina, and thither in the next year Governor Yeamans was transferred. Be-

fore 1690 Clarendon County was deserted by Europeans.

The attempt of the proprietors to force Locke's system of government on the Albemarle Colony caused discontent. A tax of a penny a pound was levied on tobacco. The governor, Miller, was not a man to conciliate the settlers. In 1676 a number of emigrants came from Virginia, where they had fought for liberty in Bacon's rebellion. Their arrival added to the discontented.

An attempt to enforce the revenue laws on a merchant vessel from Boston gave opportunity for an expression of their grievances. The ship, on her failure to pay duty, was declared a smuggler. The settlers organized, imprisoned the governor and several members of his council, and established a government for themselves. John Culpepper, who had headed the revolt, was chosen governor, other officials were elected, and the popular government was established.

This happened in 1678. The next year Miller and his comrades escaped from prison and went to England, where the matter was officially taken in hand. Culpepper promptly faced the threatened danger by crossing the Atlantic to defend the action of himself and his associates. He was seized, tried on a charge of high treason, and acquitted, the Earl of Shaftesbury himself speaking in his defense.

Lord Clarendon, however, was disgusted at the escape of Culpepper and sold his share in the proprietorship of the colony to one Seth Sothel, whose name is tarnished with various iniquities. This man was sent out as governor in 1680, but was captured by pirates and detained for three years.

In 1683 he arrived in Carolina and commenced a career marked by such avarice and despotism as no other governor of an American province ever ex-

hibited. For five or six years he defrauded the proprietors and oppressed the colonists. Then the people rose in revolt and threw off this burden. Sothel requested to be tried by the colonial assembly, expecting more mercy even from them than from the proprietors. He probably made a wise choice for himself, for he escaped with a sentence of disfranchisement and a year's exile.

For some years now the colony prospered under excellent governors. Locke's "grand model" had proved a failure and in 1693 ceased to be the authority in the government. Settlers came from other colonies and from the Old World—from Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, from France, Germany, and Switzerland.

The Indians who had occupied North Carolina were now reduced in numbers by disease and liquor. Their lands were in possession of Europeans. Only two tribes retained much power—the Tuscaroras and Corees. But hatred of the white man slumbered within their breasts; it finally broke into flame.

In 1711 Lawson, the surveyor-general of North Carolina, started up the Neuse River to explore the country. The Indians took him prisoner and burned him to death. Then followed an attack on the outlying settlers, in which 130 persons perished. The authorities of the colony were prevented from revenging these atrocities by civil disputes, but the adjoining colonies came to the assistance of North Carolina.

The efforts of Virginia were unsuccessful. Colonel Barnwell came to South Carolina with a force of militia and friendly Indians. He drove the enemy into their fort in Craven County, which, however, he was unable to capture. A treaty of peace was now made by which the war seemed to be ended.

But Barnwell's men, on their way home, broke the

treaty by destroying an Indian village, and the strife recommenced. It continued with varying success for some time. At last Colonel Moore brought a force of colonists and Indians from South Carolina and drove the Tuscaroras into their chief fort in Greene County. For a long while this was besieged in vain, but finally it was taken by storm in March, 1713. Eight hundred warriors were captured. The power of the Tuscaroras was broken. Some desired peace and were allowed to settle in a single community. The others, having no further hope, determined to leave their hunting-grounds forever. In the summer they marched northward till they reached the upper part of New York, where they made the sixth nation in the famous confederacy of Indians.

In 1729 North and South Carolina were separated at the Cape Fear River, and coming under the authority of the king, received separate royal governors. Hitherto they had been under a common government, though for some time previously each had possessed an assembly of its own.

The people of North Carolina were rude but independent. They paid little attention to religious disputes, and in 1703 they could boast not a single minister in the province. But as the colony grew in numbers and wealth it grew also in cultivation. The people, however, never lost their fearless and patriotic nature nor their hatred of tyranny.

CHAPTER XXV.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Settlement on the Ashley River—A popular form of government—Slavery introduced—Growth of the colony—Charleston founded—Trouble with the Indians—Immigrants from France and elsewhere—Governor Colleton driven out—Seth Sothel takes the reins of government—His power overthrown—Locke's constitution abandoned—Queen Anne's War—The unsuccessful invasion of Florida—Another and successful expedition—The French and Spaniards defeated in their attack on Charleston—Episcopalianism established—Trouble with the Yamassee Indians—Internal dissension—South Carolina a royal province.

In the early part of 1670 a company was sent out by the proprietors to colonize South Carolina. They chose the mouth of the Ashley River as the site of their settlement and then laid the foundations of Old Charleston, hardly a trace of which remains to-day.

William Sayle was their governor. Instead of organizing a government on the plan of Locke's grand model, they brought common sense to their aid. The governor presided over a council of ten, half of whom were elected by the colonists and the other half appointed by the proprietors. Twenty representatives, elected by the people, constituted a popular assembly.

Governor Sayle died in 1671, and after a few months, during which Joseph West performed the duties of the office, Sir John Yeamans, who had been governor of the northern colony, was appointed to fill his place. The new magistrate had been in Barbadoes at the time of his appointment. When he

came to South Carolina he brought with him a cargo of African slaves. The Englishmen had borne with difficulty the intense heat of the sun in cultivating their land. The negroes were well able to stand it. So slavery was deliberately adopted, and therein South Carolina differed from all the other colonies into which slavery had been introduced by those who were engaged in the slave-trade. In two years this institution was firmly established, and soon the negroes were twice as numerous as the whites.

The colony grew apace. One hundred and fifty acres of land were offered to any one who would immigrate or import a negro into South Carolina. The Indians were few and not to be feared. Several ships were sent by the proprietors to New York, where they were filled with the Dutch who had become dissatisfied with the English rule. They were brought to South Carolina and founded Jamestown. Other emigrants from Holland joined their brethren. Charles II. also collected a colony of Protestants in southern Europe and sent them over to introduce the silk-worm and grape-culture. In 1680 a more judicious site than had been chosen for the first colony was selected and the present city of Charleston was founded.

A conflict arose with the Indians, occasioned by the shooting of some wandering Nestoes by the settlers. The authorities seemed inclined to punish the offenders, but the colonists and Indians were both eager to fight. Scattered acts of hostility occurred for a year, the colonists being incited largely by the bounty offered for Indian prisoners. The captured warriors were sold as slaves for the West Indies. Finally peace was established and commissioners appointed to settle disputes.

England and Ireland furnished settlers to the colony. A number of Scotch Presbyterians established

themselves at Port Royal in 1684, but two years later were driven away by Spanish soldiers from St. Augustine.

France also contributed many emigrants. In 1685 Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, which eighty-seven years before had been issued guaranteeing freedom in the exercise of their religion to the Huguenots. The result of this revocation was the emigration of half a million of the worthiest inhabitants of France. Many of them came to America, and South Carolina received a large proportion. That province promised them protection and citizenship, but it was some years before these promises were completely fulfilled.

An attempt in 1686 by the governor, Colleton, to establish Locke's system of government irritated the people. They refused the payment of rents. Colleton only made matters worse by calling out the militia and declaring the province under martial law on the pretense of danger from the Spanish and Indians. James II. was soon deposed in England, and William and Mary were called to the throne. In South Carolina the popular assembly was convened, and in 1690 Colleton was banished from the province.

Seth Sothel had recently been similarly treated in North Carolina. He now came to the southern province and assumed its government. For a while he persuaded the people to submit to his authority, but the proprietors refused to recognize his acts, and he soon made himself obnoxious to the colonists. In two years he was overthrown. During this time, however, the first act of enfranchisement was adopted in favor of the Huguenots.

Under the next governor another attempt was made to force Locke's constitution on the province. But the people would none of it. Finally the proprietors, recognizing the uselessness of further endeavors in

this direction, in 1693 voted the abandonment of the grand model, and a simple charter government was supplied to the colony at its request.

The first governor under the new system was Thomas Smith. He was soon succeeded by a Quaker, John Archdale, under whose wise administration everything prospered. An act was passed enfranchising all Christians except the Catholics, and this exception was made against the wish of the governor.

Queen Anne's War now broke out, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession. France and Spain were leagued against the English. The result of the conflict between the northern colonies and the French we have narrated in the history of Massachusetts. James Moore was governor of South Carolina at this time. The assembly voted to invade the Spanish settlements in Florida by land and water and to raise a force of 1,200 men.

The expedition by land, under the command of Colonel Daniel, and the fleet, commanded by the governor, set out in the fall of 1702. The vessels blockaded the St. John's River, while Daniel attacked St. Augustine. The Spaniards were driven into their castle, which it was found impossible to capture without cannon, and to procure these Daniel departed for Jamaica. During his absence two Spanish war vessels appeared, and Governor Moore found himself hemmed in. He abandoned his ships, gathered his soldiers, and retreated to Carolina. Daniel, on his return, was nearly captured, but discovered his danger in time to escape. Moore was accused of cowardice, but no official action was taken against him. To meet the expenses of this campaign South Carolina was obliged to issue bills of credit to the amount of £6,000.

Moore conducted another expedition in the latter part of 1705, which proved more successful. With

fifty volunteers and 1,000 friendly Indians he marched into the Indian territory to the southwest of Savannah. The fortified town of Ayavalla was taken, with 200 prisoners, who were made slaves. Another successful battle with the Spaniards and Indians followed. Five towns were captured, and the English succeeded in reaching the Gulf of Mexico and cutting off communication between the Spanish in Florida and the French in Louisiana.

In 1706 a French and Spanish squadron was sent from Havana to reduce Charleston. Governor Johnson and Colonel Rhett led the volunteers and prepared so effectually for defense that the fleet achieved nothing but disaster. After several repulses 800 Frenchmen succeeded in landing, only to be defeated with a loss of 300 in killed and captured. This practically ended the war so far as South Carolina was concerned, though in Europe the conflict was not finished till the treaty of Utrecht was signed, in 1713.

It was during this war that Episcopalianism became the established church of the province. The assembly, which at one time had a majority of the high church party, even went so far as to disfranchise all dissenters. The proprietors refused to reverse their action, but Parliament declared the law invalid and the charter forfeited. The assembly soon revoked its act of disfranchisement, though the Church of England remained the church of South Carolina.

The Yamassee Indians in 1715 commenced with treachery an attack on the outlying settlements. The inhabitants of Port Royal had barely time to escape to Charleston, and serious danger threatened even that capital; but Governor Craven drove back the savages and vanquished them in a decisive battle. The Yamassees departed to Florida, where they were received as allies by the Spaniards.

The refusal of the proprietors to help bear the expenses of the war with the Yamassees occasioned much discontent. In 1719 every delegate to the assembly was elected from the popular party, and James Moore was chosen as governor. The governor at that time was Johnson, and he tried to prevent Moore's inauguration. The militia, however, collected, public enthusiasm was aroused, and the man chosen by the people was inaugurated. An agent was sent to England to represent the cause of the colonists, and the king sustained their action.

A final change was made in the government of South Carolina in 1729, when the king purchased, for £22,500, the rights of seven out of the eight proprietors to the soil and jurisdiction. The eighth proprietor, Lord Carteret, would surrender nothing but the latter. North and South Carolina were now separated and each received a royal governor.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GEORGIA.

Oglethorpe—His philanthropic aims—A charter granted—Savannah founded—Wesley and Whitfield—Fortifications built—King George's War—Expedition against St. Augustine—The Spaniards organize an expedition—It ends disastrously—Slavery—Slow advance of the colony—It becomes a royal province—Prosperity dawns.

Georgia was the last of the thirteen colonies to be founded. The one hundred and twenty-sixth year after the establishment of Jamestown, the first English colony, saw the commencement of the latest.

James Oglethorpe was the leader in this enterprise; philanthropic wishes were his motives. The English laws permitting imprisonment for debt affected with especial harshness those who formed the poorer classes. To find a refuge for these afflicted ones and for persecuted Protestants in any quarter of the world were the aims of Oglethorpe. He sought from the king a charter for founding a colony in America. His petition was favorably answered. George II., in honor of whom the province was named, in 1732 granted to a corporation for twenty-one years the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers and westward from their head-waters to the Pacific.

Oglethorpe himself sailed with his first colony in 1733, and founded the city of Savannah. Presents were exchanged with the Indians and friendly relations firmly established. Immigration was encour-

aged, and Swiss peasants and Scotchmen, German Protestants and Moravians helped to swell the number of the colonists. The importation of rum was forbidden, trade with the Indians was carefully regulated, and slavery was prohibited as likely to interfere with the laborers for whom the colony had been founded.

Oglethorpe made a visit to England, taking with him his friend Tomo-chichi, chief of the Yamacraws. He returned in 1736 with 300 colonists. Among these were John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, and his brother Charles. John Wesley entertained high expectations of converting the Indians and improving the settlers, but he found that the mixed nationalities of Georgia were not easily led in the way he desired, and he returned within two years. In 1738 George Whitfield arrived, and his eloquence had greater success. He found his grave at last in New England.

European troubles seemed to threaten that England and Spain might soon be at war. In anticipation of such an event Oglethorpe began preparations to defend his province. Spain claimed all of Georgia as part of her domain, but the charter of that colony extended to the Altamaha and Oglethorpe had by treaty with the Indians acquired the territory as far south as the St. Mary's. In 1736 he ascended the Savannah River and built a fort at Augusta. Fort Darien, on the Altamaha, and Fort William, at the mouth of the St. Mary's, were also built. The bold governor even went so far south as the St. John's, and on Amelia Island, at the mouth of that river, constructed Fort St. George. The St. John's was thereafter claimed as the southern boundary of Georgia. Oglethorpe now visited England, received a commission as brigadier-general for his own province and South Carolina, and returned to Savannah with 600 soldiers.

These preparations were not useless. A conflict

broke out in Europe which is known in our history as King George's War. In October, 1739, England declared war against Spain. At the commencement of the following year Oglethorpe led a force into Florida and captured two fortified towns. Then he returned and induced South Carolina to support his intended attack on St. Augustine.

With 1,000 men, besides Indian allies, he proceeded against that town. It was strongly fortified and ably defended. The Spaniards managed to procure supplies, and by a sally scored a slight success against the English. In Oglethorpe's camp sickness prevailed, extending even to the leader. The Carolina troops were discouraged and marched homeward. The English vessels departed. Nothing was left for Oglethorpe, brave and persistent though he was, but to abandon the siege, which had lasted five weeks, and to withdraw into Georgia.

It was now the turn of the Spaniards to carry the war into the enemy's country. They determined to drive the English beyond the Savannah. Thirty-six vessels were collected and dispatched from St. Augustine with 3,000 troops in June, 1742. The fleet attacked Fort William, but Oglethorpe, by a brilliant exploit, re-enforced its garrison and then fell back to Frederica, on the northern end of St. Simon's Island, opposite the mouth of the Altamaha. The Spaniards followed.

Oglethorpe had but 800 men and some friendly Indians. To cope successfully with the Spaniards he was obliged to resort to stratagem. He wrote a letter, as if to a spy, to a Frenchman who had deserted to the Spaniards. The letter stated that two British fleets would arrive shortly in America, one to help Oglethorpe and the other to attack St. Augustine. If the Spaniards did not move at once on Frederica their defeat would be assured. The letter fell into

the hands of the Spanish commander, as was of course intended. The ruse was suspected, but on the whole it was deemed best to make an immediate attack on the English.

The road from the southern part of the island to Frederica, over which the Spaniards must pass, lay at one place between a dense forest and a swamp. Here Oglethorpe ambushed his men and waited. The advance guard of the Spaniards was driven back in confusion. The main body pressed up and met with no better fate. They were obliged to retreat at last with the loss of 200 men, and the scene of this sanguinary engagement became known as Bloody Marsh.

The Spaniards soon embarked for Florida, attempting again on their homeward journey, but without success, the reduction of Fort William. The Spanish commander who had brought failure on the expedition was court-martialed and dismissed from the service. Thus ended, so far as Georgia was concerned, King George's War.

In 1743 Oglethorpe returned to England for good. The colony had been firmly established and successfully defended, but everything did not go with desirable smoothness. Neither agriculture nor commerce prospered. The lands of the colonists were not held in absolute ownership. Moreover, the people began to desire the introduction of slaves. Negroes were hired for longer and longer periods, and at last for a hundred years, which amounted to complete purchase. Finally slaves were brought direct from Africa, and this institution became firmly established.

The proprietary laws had grown unpopular, the people were shiftless and lazy, and much money had been spent on the colony without adequate return. In 1752 there were but 1,700 whites and 400 blacks in the province. A change was seen to be necessary. In the year just mentioned, therefore, the proprietors sur-

rendered their charter to the king and Georgia became a royal province.

Captain John Reynolds, the first royal governor, reached his province in 1754, and he labored successfully in the improvement of its affairs. In the course of two years and a half the population had increased to 6,000.

During the French and Indian War Governor Ellis, by a treaty of peace with the Creek confederacy of Indians, put a barrier between Georgia and the hostile nations beyond that saved the province from all harm. The southern boundary of Georgia was settled at the close of this war. In 1758 the Episcopal Church was established in the province. Slow as its progress had been in the early part of its history, Georgia was a prosperous and thriving colony when the Revolution broke out.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CAUSES AND COMMENCEMENT.

The independent spirit of the settlers—The colonies are ignorant and jealous of each other—Importance of the French and Indian War—Causes—Conflicting territorial claims—The frontier settlements of France and England—Antipathies between the two races—The Ohio valley—The Ohio Company formed—Advances of the French and English—The position of the Indians—Washington's mission—Fort Duquesne built—Washington advances with troops—Surrenders Fort Necessity—A Colonial Congress at Albany—Franklin's plan of union fails of adoption.

We have now traced the steps by which the thirteen American colonies were founded and firmly established. Their history shows very plainly why they possessed the independent spirit which manifested itself from time to time against the proprietors and against any one who attempted to interfere with their liberties as they conceived them. The colonies were largely peopled by those who had suffered in some shape at home from bigotry in religion, from despotism in the government, or from persecution in society. Their pioneer life, with its struggles to gain subsistence from the soil, shelter from the elements, and safety from the savages, strengthened wonderfully the hardy fibers of their nature and made them impatient of any interference with the enjoyment of their hard-won freedom.

The final outcome of this love for liberty was the Revolution. But the colonies, some of them widely

separated, founded by people of several races, of different political and religious opinions, and of diverse natures, were full of prejudice and jealousy toward each other. Intercourse and commercial relations had indeed arisen between them, and combinations between two or three had sometimes been necessary for mutual benefit. But the Revolution would hardly have taken place when it did, or would have had a different history, had not the colonies been previously brought to appreciate their common needs and the necessity of co-operation. Because they acquired this knowledge and more fraternal feelings in the French and Indian War is one reason why this conflict occupies so important a place in our history.

It is important also because it practically determined the question whether France or England should achieve supremacy in North America. The chief cause of the struggle was the conflicting claims of these two nations as to territorial rights. England claimed, by virtue of the discoveries of the Cabots, not only the territory occupied by her colonies, but the whole country beyond them as far west as the Pacific. These colonies covered but a comparatively narrow strip along the Atlantic coast, and only a few pioneers had penetrated deeply inland.

During the seventeenth century, the most active period of English colonization, France had been extending her domain on the St. Lawrence further and further to the west and south. We have narrated in the history of French explorations how Raymbault in 1641 pushed westward to Lake Superior, how Joliet and Marquette in 1673 passed down the Wisconsin River and a long distance further on the Mississippi, and how La Salle, the greatest of all, in 1682 descended the Illinois and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Following up these explorations, France by 1688 had posts at

Frontenac, Niagara, the Straits of Mackinaw, and on the Illinois, and before the outbreak of the French and Indian War settlements had been made at Detroit, on the Mississippi at the site of Natchez, on the Gulf of Mexico at the head of Biloxi Bay, and at intermediate points. On these explorations and settlements France based her claim to the interior of the continent. England at this time possessed on the extreme frontier only a small fort at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and a few scattered settlements in West Virginia. To occupy the Ohio valley was now the aim of the French, for thereby they expected to confine the English to the eastern side of the Alleghanies and to keep the remainder of the continent for France and Catholicism.

Another cause of the French and Indian War existed in the mutual antipathies of the French and English. Neighbors by location, their different races, languages, and tendencies had made them enemies. Long and bitter wars had occurred between France and England. The one was the champion of Catholicism and the other of Protestantism in Europe. In America the French provinces looked with envy on the English colonies, peopled by twenty times the number of their own inhabitants. England was jealous of the successful fur-trade which the French enjoyed with the Indians. When the conflict came, these feelings embittered the struggle on both sides.

The immediate cause of the war was the attempt made by both nations at about the same time to secure possession of the Ohio valley. Trouble commenced in 1749, five years before the actual outbreak of hostilities. Virginia, claiming under her old charters the territory from her western boundaries to Lake Erie, was disturbed by the competition of French with English traders who visited the Indians on the upper tributaries of the Ohio River. A number of

Virginians, among whom were Dinwiddie, the governor, and Robert Lee, the president of the council, formed themselves into the Ohio Company to prevent this interference. The king, George II., granted this body, in 1749, 500,000 acres of land, the location to be at once selected on the northern bank of the Ohio or between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers. The lands were to be free of rent for ten years, but a colony of 100 families must be established within seven years.

This same year a French company of 300 men explored the Ohio valley as far as the Miami River, expelled the English traders, and warned the governor of Pennsylvania not to intrude further on French territory. The next year the Ohio Company sent out a party under Christopher Gist, who passed down the Ohio from Logstown, at Beaver Creek, in Pennsylvania, to the site of Louisville.

The French now advanced from their headquarters at Erie, then called Presque Isle, and built Fort Le Bœuf, on French Creek, which empties into the Alleghany. At the junction of the streams they built Fort Venango. They then attacked a British post on the Miami and took the garrison to Canada as prisoners. The king of the Miami confederacy was murdered by the Indian allies of the French. Gist and a party of Englishmen about this time explored the country south of the Ohio, and in 1753 a small English colony was planted.

The outlook was not favorable to peace. So thought the Indian tribes, who held councils and inclined to the English side. The murder of the Miami warrior increased their ill-feeling toward the French. News came in 1753 that Duquesne, governor of Canada, had sent 1,200 men to descend the Alleghany and plant colonies. Tanacharisson, called the Half-King, chief of the confederacy of the Delawares, Shawnees,

Miamis, and Mingoes, was sent to remonstrate. He was received with contempt and returned a bitter enemy of the French. It was now that Benjamin Franklin met the chiefs of many Indian tribes and made a treaty of alliance between them and the English.

We now approach more nearly to the beginning of the conflict. Governor Dinwiddie drew up a paper explaining the English claims to the disputed territory and warning the French not to encroach thereon. To carry this document to Erie, where General St. Pierre, commander of the French forces, was stationed, was a difficult and dangerous undertaking. The performance of it was intrusted to a young surveyor who was destined to take a leading part in this war and in the annals of his country. A wise choice was made in selecting George Washington.

The envoy, in company with four comrades in addition to an interpreter and Christopher Gist, set out on October 31, 1753. He reached the site of Pittsburg, and saw at once that it was the spot for a strong fort. At Logstown he renewed pledges with a council of Indians, and then pursued his way to Venango. Thence he proceeded to Fort Le Bœuf, where he found St. Pierre. The French general received him with courtesy but would yield no part of his nation's claim. He would obey his instructions to expel every Englishman from the Ohio valley. A reply was returned to Dinwiddie maintaining the French rights and stating that they would be secured by force if necessary.

Washington returned to Venango, and thence alone with Gist he struck boldly through the wilderness. Through countless dangers and difficulties he at last reached Virginia and delivered to Dinwiddie the dispatch of St. Pierre.

Meanwhile the Ohio Company had sent out a small

body of men, under the command of Trent, to build a fort at the source of the Ohio. It was about the middle of March, 1754, when they arrived at their destination and constructed a stockade at the site of Pittsburg, where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio. The French, however, had been making preparations, even while Washington was among them, to occupy the same spot, which both parties had seen to be the key to the situation. They descended the river in force; Trent could not hope to oppose them; re-enforcements could not be procured in time to be of service. On April 17th he surrendered and withdrew from the country. The French at once built on the spot Fort Duquesne, around which so much of the interest of this war was to center.

A number of recruits had already been raised to serve under Washington as lieutenant-colonel. In the spring of 1754 they set out from Will's Creek, the furthest tributary of consequence on the north of the Potomac. The issue between the French and English was about to be tried by force of arms. Negotiation had failed and war was inevitable.

Washington pushed forward with an advance-guard. In the latter part of May he reached Great Meadows, where he threw up an intrenchment named Fort Necessity. Learning that the French had sent a force to attack him, he determined to strike the first blow himself. The French were too alert to be surprised, but they suffered defeat in this first engagement of the war, fought on May 28, 1754. In the short but decisive conflict they lost ten men, including their leader, killed, and twenty-one prisoners.

The English waited for re-enforcements. A few volunteers from South Carolina arrived, but Washington's forces numbered hardly 400 when the fort was surrounded, on July 3d, by De Villiers, in com-

mand of 600 French in addition to their Indian allies. The enemy stationed themselves on a rise of ground near the fort, whence they poured a deadly fire within the stockade. The English fought manfully but against great odds. Thirty men were killed. Finally De Villiers proposed a truce. Washington saw the hopelessness of further fighting, and being offered favorable terms of surrender, gave up the fort to the French. On July 4th the English marched out, retaining their arms, and left the French in complete possession of the Ohio valley.

In the meantime a congress of the colonies had been convened at Albany, to renew the league with the confederacy of the Six Nations and to adopt some plan of united action against the French. The first object was accomplished, but the other met with failure. On July 10th Benjamin Franklin laid before his associates a plan of union. A congress composed of delegates from the various colonies was to assemble annually at Philadelphia. The chief executive was to be a governor-general appointed by the king, and to him was intrusted a power of veto on acts of the congress.

This plan was not favorably received by the colonies. Some rejected it and others adopted it in a half-hearted way. They considered that too much power was given to the king's representative. In England the scheme met with no better reception. There it was thought that the colonies would acquire too much freedom. So Franklin's constitution was never adopted.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—EVENTS OF 1755.

France and England prepare for war—General Braddock—Campaign plans—Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne—He disregards advice—Is defeated and mortally wounded—Successful expedition to Acadia—Cruel expulsion of the French peasantry—Shirley's advance toward Fort Niagara—He withdraws—Johnson and Dieskau meet at Lake George—The latter is defeated and mortally wounded—Review of the year.

England and France had not yet declared war, but each appreciated the importance of the struggle in America, and while they assured each other that they desired peace, aid was being given to their respective colonies. Louis XV., king of France, sent 3,000 soldiers to Canada, and the English government dispatched General Edward Braddock with two regiments of regulars.

Braddock arrived in the Chesapeake in the early part of 1755. He met the governors of the colonies at Alexandria in April and arranged plans for immediate execution. As war had not been declared, it was resolved that operations should be confined within the territory claimed by England. Braddock himself was to advance against Fort Duquesne; Johnson, of New York, was to capture Crown Point; Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to attack Niagara; and Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, was to establish England's authority in the region claimed by her in that part of the country.

Braddock set out in this same month of April for

Will's Creek, the military post on which stream was now called Fort Cumberland. The army consisted of 2,000 veterans of the British army and a few provincial troops. Braddock's commission contained the obnoxious clause that colonial colonels and captains should have no rank when fighting with the regulars. Had it not been for this provision the colonists would have been strongly represented. Even Washington withdrew from the service, but he patriotically returned and was made an aid-de-camp of the British general.

Braddock was a self-willed, conceited, and proud man, impatient even of advice. Franklin had urged him to be cautious, but he had replied that savages could not hope to contend with trained veterans. When his advance-guard left Fort Cumberland it straggled along the narrow road for four miles. Washington's experience in savage warfare saw at once the advantage which Indians would have in attacking such a loose column, and he ventured to suggest the danger to Braddock. The arrogant general received the advice with contempt and anger.

Braddock now chose 1,200 troops for a more rapid advance, and left the rest of the army under the command of Colonel Dunbar. On the 8th of July the forces were on the Monongahela, only twelve miles from Fort Duquesne. On the 9th they crossed the stream and proceeded along the northern bank, Colonel Thomas Gates leading the way with 350 men. The road was no more than twelve feet wide and flanked by rocks, ravines, and underbrush. Suddenly firing was heard in advance.

The French, almost despairing of their power to maintain their position, had resolved at least to make an effort for safety. Two hundred and thirty Frenchmen, under Beaujeu and Dumas, had been pushed forward with over 600 Indians. About seven miles

from the fort they had hardly ambushed themselves when the vanguard of the English appeared. The battle began at once.

Confusion followed. The English in advance were driven back and their cannon captured. The main body of Gage's force were mixed with the men Braddock sent forward to their aid. The British general himself rushed to the front and fought bravely, but in vain. The men crowded together and presented a tempting target to the savages concealed behind rocks and trees. Unaccustomed to this mode of warfare, they wasted their fire; soldiers fell on every side; panic seized the survivors. Braddock had five horses shot under him, and finally he received a wound in his right side. Washington advised retreat, and the thirty surviving Virginians covered the departure. Artillery, provisions, and baggage were left behind.

The slaughter had been fearful. Out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Seven hundred and fourteen soldiers were dead or bleeding. Washington seemed to have borne a charmed life. Two horses were shot under him, and four times bullets had torn his clothing. The Indians had made particular endeavors to shoot him, but all in vain. On the other hand, the French and Indian losses were small. Only three officers and thirty men were killed and an equal number wounded.

Braddock died on the fourth day after the battle and was buried near Fort Necessity. He seemed to realize the mistake he had made when it was too late. When the retreating army reached Dunbar's camp the panic was not allayed. Dunbar lacked courage and ability. He destroyed valuable stores and artillery, retreated to Fort Cumberland, and then, although it was still summer, pleading that the troops must be put in winter quarters, departed to Philadelphia. The proud expedition of Braddock and the

first important battle of the war had resulted in defeat and disgrace.

English arms were more successful in Acadia, but their success was attended with a deeper disgrace than even Braddock's defeat. Nova Scotia had come into the possession of England in 1713, and during the half-century following the population had increased from 3,000 to 16,000. But the great majority of the inhabitants were Frenchmen and Catholics. The deputy-governor, Lawrence, pretended to fear an insurrection, and at the council held by Braddock and the colonial governors in Alexandria it was determined to overawe the French peasantry. The fleet designed to help Lawrence in this task sailed from Boston in May, 1755, with 3,000 New England men. On its arrival at the Bay of Fundy Colonel Monckton took command.

The French had two forts on the isthmus which connects Nova Scotia with the main-land. The first and most important was named Beau-Sejour, the other Gaspereau. The English forces landed, and after a vigorous siege of a few days, on June 16th Beau-Sejour capitulated, and its name was changed to Fort Cumberland. Gaspereau was taken shortly afterward and renamed Monckton. In a few weeks the English were masters of the whole situation.

The French people, however, still remained. How to dispose of this element, which the English feared, was a problem. Governor Lawrence, Admiral Boscawen, and the chief justice of the province hit upon the plan of driving them out of the province. An oath of allegiance was demanded, so worded that no conscientious Catholic could take it. Their arms and boats were taken away on the charge of treason. Then the barbarous work of banishment began.

The people were driven on board the British ships and their lands confiscated. At the town of Grand Pré

alone 1,900 men, women, and children were forced at the point of the bayonet to leave their homes and embark on these English vessels. Before they sailed away they were sickened at the sight of their burning village. Then they were carried off, to be scattered here and there among the English colonies. Families were separated, husbands sought in vain for wives, children for parents. The tale of one sad incident in these atrocious proceedings has been told by Longfellow in his poem of "Evangeline."

The third expedition of this year was against the French fort on the lower part of the Niagara River. It was a weak post and its capture was deemed easy. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, reached the English post at Oswego in the latter part of August with 2,000 men. The provincial forces were to assemble here and proceed in boats to Fort Niagara. Storms, adverse winds, and sickness occasioned one delay after another. Finally Shirley declared the season to be so late that navigation of the lake would be dangerous. It was evident that he had been disheartened and terrified by the news of Braddock's defeat. On the 24th of October Shirley returned home with a large part of his force, and the only advantage which had been gained was that a new fort had been built at Oswego and garrisoned with 700 men.

The fourth and last campaign of this year was undertaken by General William Johnson, to capture Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and to secure that region to the English. While waiting for Johnson, General Lyman constructed Fort Edward, on the Hudson above Albany. There the commanding general joined him in the latter part of August, and the army crossed to Lake George.

While engaged in transferring their stores and preparing boats, Johnson learned that Dieskau, who commanded at Crown Point, was advancing. The French

and Indians, numbering about 1,400, designed to pass around the English and capture Fort Edward. Colonel Williams, in company with Hendrick and 1,000 men, was sent to prevent the threatened danger. On September 8th the two forces came into contact, and the English lost their two leaders, were thrown into confusion, and retreated.

The French followed. The defenses of Johnson's camp had been neglected, but on hearing the noise of the engagement trees had been felled and cannon placed in position. Dieskau came up with his forces, but the Indians were afraid of the English guns and refused to fight. The French, however, advanced to the attack, and for five hours the fiercest battle yet known to American history was waged. Johnson was wounded and left the field, but his troops fought bravely, and finally, making a sally, utterly routed the French.

Dieskau was mortally wounded and nearly all his regulars killed. The victory for the English was complete, but it cost 216 lives. Johnson was warmly praised for this battle, and was made a baronet, though its result was due more to the bravery of the provincial troops than to his efforts. Fort William Henry was now built on the site of his camp, Fort Edward was strengthened, and the rest of the soldiers returned home. The French, in the meantime, had increased their garrison at Crown Point and had fortified Ticonderoga.

The year 1755 had been successful in Acadia and northern New York, but the disastrous defeat of Braddock and the failure of the expedition against Niagara had more than counterbalanced the advantage gained. Worse than all was the memory of the barbarous cruelty shown toward the peaceful Acadians.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—TWO YEARS OF DISASTER

Washington in the Shenandoah valley—Franklin in Pennsylvania—Loudoun made commander-in-chief—Abercrombie second in command—War declared between France and England—Montcalm captures Oswego—Armstrong defeats the Indians—Loudoun's inaction—He commands an expedition against Louisburg—He withdraws—Montcalm captures Fort William Henry—Massacre of the garrison.

In the early part of 1756, Washington, at the head of Virginians, drove back the French and Indians in the Shenandoah valley, and Franklin, at the head of Pennsylvania volunteers, gained some slight successes in that province. Governor Shirely had succeeded Braddock in command of the English forces, but plans only had been framed.

The English government now appointed the Earl of Loudoun commander-in-chief of all the military forces in America and General Abercrombie second in rank. The latter sailed in April, 1756, with two battalions of regulars, and on the 17th of May Great Britain declared war with France, to which the French soon replied in a similar way. England sent £115,000 for the expenses of the war. In July Loudoun arrived and took command of the colonial army.

The French, meanwhile, had collected 5,000 men under the Marquis of Montcalm, Dieskau's successor in the command of the French forces. Crossing Lake Ontario they attacked Oswego, where there were two En-

glish fortifications, the old block-house on the western bank of the Oswego River and the new Fort Ontario on the east. The English were driven out of the latter and crossed the river. Here, for two days, 1,600 men fought bravely against the superior numbers of the French, but at last they had to surrender. Six ships of war, 120 cannon, besides numerous boats and considerable money, fell into the hands of the French as the result of this victory. Montcalm, to gratify the Indians, razed the forts to the ground.

The only success of this year was scored in Pennsylvania. The Delaware Indians had violated their treaty and committed numerous atrocities. Colonel Armstrong, with 300 volunteers, was sent against them. On September 8th he surprised the Indians in their town of Kittanning, some distance northeast of Pittsburg, and completely vanquished them, with a loss of only sixteen men.

A FORTIFIED HOUSE.

Lord Loudoun remained at Albany, with a pretense only of activity. His army was strong, but he failed to direct it against the French, who took advantage of his laziness and incompetence to strengthen Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Thus ended the year 1756.

The only campaign laid out for 1757 was the capture of the strong fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island. In June Loudoun sailed from New York with 6,000 regulars. At Halifax he was joined

by sixteen men-of-war with 5,000 more troops. Loudoun delayed his advance on one pretext or another until news came that the French ships at Louisburg outnumbered his own by—one! This was too much for his courage. He sent the fleet to cruise around Cape Breton and himself returned with his army to New York—a ridiculous failure of a powerful expedition.

Montcalm was a brave and daring general. He had meanwhile been leading a force of 6,000 French Canadians and 1,700 Indians to Ticonderoga. Fort William Henry was his objective point The Iroquois had now proved faithless to their English alliance and were in league with the French. On August 3d Fort William Henry was besieged. Its garrison consisted of only 500 men, under Colonel Munro, but 1,700 more were near at hand. General Webb meanwhile was only fourteen miles distant, at Fort Edward, with 4,000 regulars, but instead of coming to the support of Munro he advised him to surrender.

Munro was not the kind of a man to follow such cowardly advice. For six days he held out, till his ammunition was nearly gone and half of his guns were disabled. Then he was obliged to surrender, but he secured honorable terms. His men were to keep their effects and were permitted to go free under a pledge not to engage in the war again for a year and a half, and a safe passage to Fort Edward was guaranteed. But the Indians had become intoxicated with the liquor found in the English camp. They fell upon the prisoners, and thirty Englishmen were killed and others made captive. The remainder fled panic-stricken to Fort Edward. Montcalm and other Frenchmen risked their lives to redeem their promise, but in vain.

Thus matters stood at the end of 1757, in even a worse shape than at the close of the previous year.

The French were masters of the Ohio valley and had gained a brilliant victory in the north. The only expedition of the English had proved a failure through the incompetence of the commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—SUCCESSES AND PEACE.

Pitt made prime minister—Abercrombie, Howe, and Boscawen—Plans for 1758—Amherst takes Louisburg—Howe is killed near Ticonderoga—Abercrombie attacks the fort—Is defeated—Bradstreet captures Fort Frontenac—Fort Duquesne evacuated by the French—Amherst made commander-in-chief—Preparations for 1759—Fort Niagara surrenders to the English—The French driven from Lake Champlain—Wolfe advances on Quebec—A temporary check—Defeats the French on the Plains of Abraham—Wolfe and Montcalm mortally wounded—Quebec capitulates—Montreal captured—The Cherokees in arms—Their defeat—The English occupy the French frontier posts—Trouble with the Indians—Pontiac's conspiracy—The conspiracy broken—The treaty of Paris—Its provisions.

The disasters of the years 1756 and 1757 had provoked much discontent in England, which resulted finally in a change of ministers. William Pitt was now called to the head of the government, and he determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war. Abercrombie was appointed to succeed Loudoun, with young Lord Howe second in command. Amherst, Forbes, James Wolfe, and Richard Montgomery were leading officers. Admiral Boscawen was in command of the fleet of twenty-two ships of the line and fifteen frigates. Three campaigns were arranged for the year 1758. Amherst and the fleet were to capture Louisburg, Howe was to take Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and Forbes was to recover the Ohio valley.

In the latter part of May Amherst found himself at Halifax with 10,000 men and a strong fleet and proceeded to Louisburg. In the early part of June Wolfe landed, drove the French into their fortress, and planted guns which directed an effective fire against the enemy. The siege was pressed with energy. The town was in ruins; the fort was showing the results of the severe bombardment—only twelve out of fifty-two cannon were in a condition to reply; several of the French vessels had been burned. Louisburg was therefore forced to capitulate on July 28, 1758. Nearly 6,000 men became prisoners of war, and Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island came into the possession of Great Britain. Then, having accomplished their purpose, the English abandoned Louisburg.

In the meantime the expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga had been commenced. Lord Howe with 15,000 men, two-thirds of whom were provincials, reached Lake George on July 5th. The artillery of the English could not be easily maneuvered in the region around Ticonderoga, so leaving the heavy guns behind the soldiers advanced, led by Howe. On July 6th they encountered the advanced post of the French, but a few hundred in number. An engagement followed, in which the English were victorious but suffered by the death of Lord Howe. Abercrombie was not far off, but the loss of their immediate leader prevented an advance.

Two days later an English engineer reported that Ticonderoga had feeble defenses. The sequel showed that he was mistaken. Abercrombie decided to carry the place by assault, and for four hours on a hot afternoon the English stormed in vain the strong breastworks. The French numbered only 3,600 men, but Montcalm, their leader, was a host in himself. So bravely did they fight, and so ably were they directed,

that the English were finally obliged to withdraw with a loss of 1,967 men in killed and wounded.

The English forces were still largely in excess of the French, and with a good general Ticonderoga might still have been secured. But Abercrombie did not possess the requisite qualities. He returned to Fort George. Thence he dispatched 3,000 men under Colonel Bradstreet to capture Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, at the present site of Kingston. Bradstreet marched across New York to Oswego, crossed the lake in boats, and after a siege of two days captured the fort. This valuable post of the French was destroyed, and nine vessels of war, forty-six cannon, and large quantities of stores fell into the hands of the British. The success of this exploit almost made up for the failure at Ticonderoga, but the dead soldiers could not be brought back to life.

The expedition against Fort Duquesne was led by Forbes, with 9,000 men. Washington and Armstrong were with him, leading the detachments from Virginia and Pennsylvania. The advance was slow, and a number of men in the van were lost in an ambuscade. But when Washington was still ten miles from the fort, the 500 Frenchmen who garrisoned the place, perceiving the uselessness of attempting to defend it against such superior numbers, burned the fortress and fled. On November 25th the English entered the intrenchments and named the spot Pittsburg, after the great English minister.

So ended the campaigns of the year 1758, successful at all points except at Ticonderoga, of which only the incompetence of the general prevented the capture. Amherst was now made commander-in-chief, and Parliament voted £12,000,000 for prosecuting the war. The prospects for 1759 were exceedingly bright. The British and colonial army numbered nearly 50,000 men; the French had but about 7,000, and the entire

population of Canada was only 82,000. Pitt determined to carry the war into the enemy's territory. Prideaux was to capture Niagara and then descend to Montreal; Amherst himself was to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Wolfe, by way of the St. Lawrence, was to gain possession of Quebec.

General Prideaux laid siege to Fort Niagara on July 10th, but being killed a few days later by the bursting of a gun, the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. On July 24th he utterly routed re-enforcements, under d'Aubry, who were coming to the aid of the garrison. On the next day Niagara, with 600 men, was surrendered to the English. So the French lost their important intermediate station between Canada and the south and west.

The same month of July witnessed the success of Amherst on Lake Champlain. The French could not hope to cope with his force of 11,000 men. After some slight resistance, they abandoned Ticonderoga on July 26th and retreated to Crown Point. A few days later they gave up this post also and retired to Isle-aux-Noix, in the Sorrel River. Amherst ought now to have advanced against Montreal, but instead he wasted his time in building and repairing fortifications. He was a brave officer, but his intellect did not grasp the necessity of following up his victory. It was left for another campaign to complete the work of conquering Canada.

James Wolfe, however, was a different kind of man. Brave, able, and resolved to sacrifice his life if necessary, he was well calculated to achieve the great task before him of taking Quebec. As soon as the St. Lawrence was cleared of ice he proceeded, with nearly 8,000 men and forty-four vessels under Admiral Saunders. On June 27th he landed on the Isle of Orleans, four miles below Quebec, and formed a camp at its upper end. On the night of June 29th General

Monckton succeeded in seizing Point Levi, opposite the city, and planting a battery there. By the fire of these guns the lower town was soon destroyed and considerable injury inflicted on the upper town, but the fortress stood intact. Montcalm, with French and Canadians to about the number of the English, lay encamped below the city, between the Montmorenci and St. Charles rivers, thinking the fortress impregnable.

The English crossed to the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and were now separated from the French only by the Montmorenci River. This stream was fordable at low water, and an attack was made on the enemy on the last day of July. Monckton, however, was unable to execute his supporting movement in time, and the English were repulsed with the loss of 400 lives.

The disappointment occasioned by this reverse and his incessant activity threw Wolfe into a fever. A council of war was held at his bedside, and though the general favored another assault, his plan was outvoted. Wolfe acquiesced in the plans of the majority, and it was decided to gain possession of the Plains of Abraham, in the rear of the city. He therefore transferred his army to the southern bank of the St. Lawrence above the city, securing his positions at the Isle of Orleans and Point Levi, and occupying the attention of the enemy in other directions. He then sought a place of ascent to the plateau, and finally chose as a landing-place the spot now known as Wolfe's Cove, from which ascended a steep path hardly wide enough for two men abreast.

The day and evening of the 12th of September was spent in preparation. Everything was complete. At about 1 o'clock on the morning of the 13th the boats dropped down with the tide, the ships followed, the precipitous hill was climbed, the feeble guard at its summit dispersed, and the sun arose to look upon

the English army marshaled on the Plains of Abraham.

Montcalm was amazed when he heard the news, and hurriedly bringing up his forces, threw them between Wolfe and this weakest side of the endangered city. The armies were each about 5,000 in number. The English were all regulars, perfectly trained and trusting implicitly to their leader. The French had but 2,000 regulars. An hour was spent in a fire between the few cannon. Then the French made an attempt to outflank Wolfe, in which attempt they were unsuccessful.

Now Montcalm led his troops to a charge. The English reserved their fire till the French ranks, broken by the unevenness of the ground, had come within forty yards, and then they poured a destructive shower of lead upon them. Montcalm, though wounded, was present everywhere, directing and cheering. But the Canadians began to waver. Wolfe headed an impetuous charge. He was wounded in the wrist but pressed on. He was hit by a second ball but continued. Just as the French were giving way before the English bayonets he received a mortal wound in the breast. An officer helped him from the field. "They run! they run!" said his companion. "Who run?" gasped Wolfe. "The French give way everywhere," was the reply. Then giving a final order to complete the victory, the dying hero murmured, "Now God be praised! I die in peace."

Montcalm, too, had received a second and a mortal wound. "How long shall I survive?" he asked the surgeon. "Ten or twelve hours—perhaps less." "So much the better," exclaimed the Frenchman; "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." At 5 o'clock the next morning he passed away, and France had lost one of her most gallant heroes, wise in council, unselfish in sharing difficulties and dangers, and brave in battle.

Further defense of Quebec was useless. On the 17th of September the city capitulated to General Townshend. The year 1759 had seen a successful issue to all three of the campaigns that had been planned. Great was the rejoicing in the colonies and in England, but the enthusiasm centered in the victory of Wolfe, which practically ended the war. The loss of so brave a hero, however, mingled grief with exultation.

In the spring of 1760 France made an effort to recover her lost ground. A battle was fought west of Quebec. The French, under Levi, suffered a loss of 300 men, but succeeded in driving the English, under Murray, into the city, with the loss of 1,000. Re-enforcements, however, arrived before long, and the siege was raised. Later in the year Amherst descended to Montreal by way of Oswego and the St. Lawrence, met the forces of Murray and others from Crown Point, and on September 8th received the capitulation of the city. The last important post of the French in the valley of the St. Lawrence passed into English hands, and the surrender included all of Canada.

In the summer of this same year the Cherokee Indians rose against the English and captured Fort Loudoun, in the northeastern part of Tennessee. Safety was promised to the garrison, but the savages violated their compact and massacred or made captive the whole of their prisoners. The next year Amherst sent Lieutenant-Colonel Grant against the Cherokees, and he succeeded in forcing them into a treaty of peace.

After the capitulation of Montreal, English soldiers were sent to take possession of the western forts of the French, which had been given up at the same time. By the last of November, 1760, Major Rogers had reached Detroit, but the posts at Mackinaw, St. Marie, and Green Bay were not garrisoned till the next summer.

The English were thus brought into the very midst of the Indians, who were friendly to the French and still expected their triumph. They failed to understand that their allies had lost Canada. Rudely treated by the English, instigated by the French, and angry at real and fancied wrongs, they began to combine against the English. In 1761 a treacherous endeavor was made to capture Detroit, which happily failed, as did another attempt the next year.

It was in this state of affairs that Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas who wandered through the region between Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, organized the widest and most threatening conspiracy that was ever known among the Indians. Pontiac doubted that peace could be arranged between the rival French and English. Trusting to the hope that peace would not be secured, he planned a union of the Indian tribes from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. The 7th of May, 1763, was set as the day on which all the English forts on the frontier should be simultaneously attacked.

Pontiac undertook himself the task of capturing Detroit. The scheme was carefully prepared, but when the Indians attempted to gain possession of the post by treachery they found the garrison armed to receive them. The plot had been revealed, it is said, by the friendship of an Indian girl for the commandant, and after a long siege the Indians were driven away.

Elsewhere the savages were more successful. Forts Sandusky, St. Joseph, and Mackinaw were taken and the English massacred. By midsummer all the forts in the west had been captured except Detroit, Niagara, and Pittsburg. Now, however, the Indians began to hear of a treaty between France and England, and one tribe after another sought peace. The confederacy was broken up. But Pontiac and his warriors of the Ottawas continued the struggle for two

years longer. Then his friends deserted him, and he was finally murdered by an Illinois Indian.

The war between France and England ended in America with the capture of Montreal, but it was still continued in other quarters of the world, these two countries being also engaged in the general European conflict known as the Seven Years' War, in which Spain also finally joined. The French and Indian War was at last terminated by the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763. By the terms of this treaty France gave up her possessions in North America with hardly an exception. All east of the Mississippi were surrendered to Great Britain except the Island of New Orleans. This island and the vast province known as Louisiana, west of the Father of Waters, was given to Spain, and Spain in turn gave up to Great Britain East and West Florida. All that France retained of her immense domain on this continent was two small islands near the Canadian coast as a refuge for her fishermen.

So closed a war most important in Europe and America. In the New World it settled forever the question as to what language, religion, and civilization should dominate the continent of North America. And we have already referred to its effect in establishing more friendly relations between the colonies and in showing them their strength and the necessity for united action.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONDITION OF THE COLONIES.

Political and religious differences between the colonies—Diversity in character—Varying laws—Slavery—Life of the settlers—Means of conveyance—Educational interests—Newspapers—Books and learning—Colleges—Population—Manufactures and commerce—Agricultural products—Post-office system—Money—The Revolution draws nigh.

Before we enter on the history of the struggle by which the colonists secured independence from Great Britain, it will be well to take a rapid glance at their condition as they emerged from the French and Indian War and passed into the Revolutionary stage of their history.

The thirteen colonies that afterward joined to make the thirteen original states of the Union had by this time all been founded—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The differences that existed between these colonies in the character of their people, their customs, and their laws was chiefly due to the nature of the settlers, the soil which they cultivated, and the climate in which they lived. New England was established by people whose sentiments developed, with those of their dissenting brethren in England, into opposition to the crown. Virginia was guided by men of aristocratic and royal inclinations. Their religions also differed. Puritan principles, strong and rigorous—

and as they seem to us to-day, even harsh in their severity—prevailed in the northeast. New York, owing probably to the Dutch element of its population, paid little attention to religious controversies. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware followed the peaceful propensities of the Quakers. Virginia established Episcopalianism.

The cultivation of the soil in New England was, on the whole, attended with difficulties. What the settlers succeeded in obtaining from it was won by hard toil. In the south so much labor was not required. The climate in the north was severe: bitter winters and frequent changes of temperature occasioned numerous lung diseases, and a hardy constitution was necessary to bid defiance to the weather. The south was of course warmer all the year and much hotter in summer. So it very naturally happened, from their origin and their surroundings, that the colonists of New England developed into a hardy, vigorous race, and the settlers of the south into a more aristocratic and passionate and a less energetic people.

The results of these differences can be easily traced in the varying history of the colonies. Sumptuary laws—that is, laws regulating wages, prices of various articles and clothing—were adopted by all, in accordance with the ideas of the period in which they lived, but the northern colonies enforced severer morals than the south. The smoking of tobacco publicly and by minors was prohibited in New England and Pennsylvania, while in New York and the south it was freely used. Amusements were introduced into New England under protest from the elder and staid portion of the community, while they were freely indulged in at the south. But most of the colonies had stringent laws enforcing the observance of Sunday and attendance on church-services. The stocks and whipping-post were common forms of punishment, and numerous crimes were capital offenses.

Greater than all was the difference in the matter of slavery. It was introduced into all the colonies but flourished especially in the south, where the intense heat of the sun made it difficult or dangerous for Europeans to work in the fields. The ease-loving nature of the planters was thus increased, class-distinctions were encouraged, and the institution grew into vast proportions. In the north, though all the colonies had slaves within their borders at the commencement of the Revolution, it was gradually discouraged and finally abandoned. Thus it happened that a century after the period of which we are now writing, the north and the south found themselves arrayed in arms against each other.

THE STOCKS.

The habits of the people differed everywhere. The English, the Dutch, and the French; the Puritans and the Quakers; the farmers in one portion of the country and the planters in another; the inhabitants of towns and the pioneers on the frontier; the sailor, the merchant, and the backwoodsman must necessarily have diverse habits and different costumes. There was little elegance among any of them; for the eighteenth century among the middle classes even in England was a period of so few household comforts and conveniences compared with our own that it is difficult to realize it.

The early settler lived in a log-cabin, often surrounded by palisades for protection against the Indians; rode on horseback with his wife behind him on a pillion; used oiled paper instead of glass for his windows; dressed in homespun; had for bread coarse

rye and Indian, with little or no coffee or tea. Gradually, of course, this rude condition was improved as towns grew and became the centers of civilization and wealth increased in the colonies. But even now there was much necessary simplicity in their style of living. Luxuries were rare. Stage-coaches hung on straps instead of springs were in use, but lumbered slowly along the poor roads. Two days were occupied in going from Boston to Providence—the first regular stage-route, established about 1772. Coaches and roads, however, were not good even in England.

The quarter of the country of most educational progress was New England. It is said that at this period there was not a single grown person, born in this country, who could not read and write. The middle colonies, except Pennsylvania, were not so well provided with educational facilities, and in the south the schools were chiefly for the wealthier classes. Newspapers were few, owing to the lack of large towns. The first periodical in America was the Boston *News-Letter*, published in 1704. In 1721 the fourth periodical, the New England *Courant*, was published by James Franklin, assisted by his younger brother Benjamin. At the close of the French and Indian War there were not more than ten newspapers published in the colonies. Publications of other sorts were proportionally few.

Notwithstanding the lack of American works, however, there were men of wide reading and culture. Such were Franklin, the Adamses, Thomas Jefferson, and others whose names we shall meet in the stirring time which was now approaching. But the arts and sciences were little developed. The clergy were the chief class of educated men, and they, with lawyers and physicians, were more highly esteemed in the north than in the south. But centers of education

were being established. Before the Revolution began there were nine colleges scattered through the colonies—Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, King's (now Columbia), Brown, Queen's (now Rutgers), Dartmouth, and Hampden and Sydney. The first medical college was established at Philadelphia in 1764.

The population of the colonies in 1760 amounted

A WEDDING-JOURNEY.

to 1,695,000. Of these, 1,385,000 were white, and the remainder, 310,000, negroes. The blacks were much more numerous in the south. For instance: In 1754 there were in New England only about 14,000 blacks, and in the middle colonies, including Maryland, only about 71,000, while south of the Potomac there were about 178,000. In 1760 Virginia contained the greatest population of any of the colonies—284,000, but of these only 168,000 were of European ancestry; while Massachusetts had a white population of over 200,000. Pennsylvania, Connecticut,

Maryland, and New York came next, and so on to Georgia, which contained, all told, less than 5,000 inhabitants.

The manufacturing interests were small at the time of the Revolution, owing chiefly to the restrictions placed upon them by the jealousy of England. Such as they were, they were chiefly centered in New England. Ship-building was an important industry. Coasting-vessels provided for the small commerce between the colonies and carried passengers from point to point along the coast. Some trade was also carried on with foreign ports. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were the commercial centers of the country, but at the time of the Revolution the exports of the colonies were only about £4,000,000 and the imports £3,500,000.

The Americans, however, were for the most part an agricultural people. In Virginia tobacco and in the Carolinas and Georgia rice were the most important crops. Cotton, indigo, wheat, maize, potatoes, hemp, and flax were also raised. Tar and turpentine were obtained from the trees. The middle colonies raised wheat, maize, and other grains, and New York enjoyed a profitable fur-trade. New England, besides its cultivation of soil producing various grains, possessed rich fishing grounds and also sent out whaling-vessels.

The post-office system was poorly developed. As early as 1692 a patent had been granted for establishing postal service, and when the patent expired, in 1710, the British service was extended to the colonies. But it was badly managed, and in 1776 there were but seventy-five post-offices in the country. Money was scarce and trade was largely by barter. Massachusetts was the first colony to coin money, which she had commenced to do in 1652 by the establishment of a mint, from which was issued the "pine-tree shilling" and other pieces.

Such was the political, commercial, and social condition of the colonies when the whisperings of revolt began to be heard through the land. The second period of our history, the period during which the separate colonies were founded and firmly established, draws to a close. The time had come when they were to be united and independent, and we may now pass to the history of the American Revolution.

Third Period.

Independence and Union.

THIRD PERIOD.

INDEPENDENCE AND UNION.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION.

Independent spirit of the people—Hatred of George III.—French hostility toward England—Arbitrary government of the colonies—Taxation without representation—Review of oppressive acts—Search-warrants—Trade with the West Indies destroyed—A stamp-tax threatened—The Stamp Act passed—Reception of the news in America—Patrick Henry—First Colonial Congress—Operation of the Stamp Act prevented—Non-importation agreement—The act is repealed—New taxes imposed—Renewed opposition—Gage in Boston—The "Regulators" in Virginia—Trouble in New York—The Boston Massacre—The *Gaspé* burned—The duty on tea—The "Boston Tea-party"—The Boston Port Bill—Second Colonial Congress—Soldiers sent to Boston—Boston Neck fortified—Massachusetts prepares for resistance—"Minute-men."

We are about to narrate the history of a most important event—important not only in the New World but in the Old World as well. In America it settled forever the question whether the inhabitants should rule themselves or whether they should be governed by a parliament and a king living across the seas. And the foundation of a government in America "of the people, by the people, and for the people" has been an example and an inspiration to advanced minds in Europe ever since. The French Revolution

was to no little degree the result of the liberal political ideas which had been expressed, fought for, and finally embodied in a constitution in America.

The first and most general cause of the American Revolution is to be found in the character of the people and the history of the colonies. We have already pointed out how an independent spirit among the colonists was the natural result of the oppression at home from which the original settlers fled and the hardships they experienced in the wilderness. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, Connecticut's resistance to Andros and Fletcher, and numerous other acts show how ill the colonists bore tyranny or unwarranted interference. The contests with unwise proprietors, with despotic kings and tyrannical royal governors, had not endeared to the people government from beyond the seas.

Public opinion was beginning to incline toward the idea of independence. John Adams and other advanced thinkers saw the probable result twenty years before the struggle commenced. The bulk of the people, however, though they and their publications showed with increasing force that they entertained the same notion, did not actually appreciate the situation and declare plainly for independence till the struggle was upon them. It was not till wrongs had been heaped on wrongs beyond endurance that they were willing to revolt against their mother country. Then the possibility and necessity for united action which all had been taught by the French and Indian War, and some of them previously, drew them together in their common desires and dangers.

Personal antipathy to the king, George III., had not a little to do with the feeling of the Americans. The vast majority of this generation had never seen their monarch, and they had not lived near enough to the seat of government to have had their eyes blinded

by the magnificence of a crown to the faults of him who wore it. They could appreciate even more clearly than Britons the shallowness, the stubbornness, and the despotic nature of George III., who ascended the throne in 1760 and for sixty years was king of a noble people.

The hostility of France to England led her to hope that at some time the colonies, by setting up a government of their own, would give a heavy blow to the extent and supremacy of Great Britain. French influence was exerted to stir up a spirit of resistance in the colonies, and when war commenced she assisted them, at first privately, and afterward openly and so efficiently that a considerable share of the successful result of the Revolution must be credited to her.

A more important cause than any we have yet mentioned was the right claimed by Great Britain of arbitrary government of the colonies. While this claim was merely maintained as a theory it provoked little opposition, but the instant an endeavor was made to put it into practice the colonists were aroused.

This led to the final and most prominent cause of the Revolution. The colonists had no representatives in Parliament. That body nevertheless maintained its right to enforce taxes in America. The colonists claimed the full rights of Englishmen, and according to a well-established principle of the English constitution, the people were entitled to be represented in the body that taxed them. They insisted, therefore, that the colonial assemblies should be the only authority to levy taxes upon them. The English ministers asserted that many of the towns of England were not represented in Parliament and yet were taxed. So much the worse for them, replied the colonies: if they are not represented they ought to be. And they declared that "*taxation without representation was tyranny.*" For this principle they fought, for this

they offered up their lives and their fortunes, and this they finally won by establishing a government of their own, where it has the fullest recognition.

There were various definite acts which brought matters to a head and were the immediate cause of the war, and as we review these we shall see the opposition to them becoming more and more marked and outspoken.

As far back as 1651 and 1660 navigation acts had been passed which seriously interfered with the commerce of the colonies, especially of Virginia and Massachusetts. In 1733 an Importation Act laid excessive duties on imported sugar, molasses, and rum. The merchants evaded the payment of these duties and finally openly disregarded the statute. In 1750 the building of iron-works, the manufacture of steel, and the felling of pine trees outside of inclosures were forbidden. These provisions were disregarded by the colonists and denounced as tyrannical. In 1761, in order to enforce the Importation Act, the colonial courts were authorized to issue to the royal officers writs of assistance. By the aid of these search-warrants the officials might seek in any place and at any time for imported goods on which they suspected the duty had not been paid. Boston and Salem were especially excited, and James Otis delivered eloquent and able arguments for colonial rights and asserted the unconstitutional nature of these acts. The writs became so unpopular that, though granted, they were seldom used.

In 1763 and 1764 attempts were made to enforce the payment of duties on molasses and sugar. English war ships were sent to watch American harbors, and a large number of merchantmen were seized. Trade with the West Indies was almost broken up.

Pitt, the friend of the colonies, had resigned, and Grenville was now prime minister. In March, 1764,

Parliament announced its intention of imposing a stamp-duty on the colonies. The news occasioned the greatest excitement in the colonies, and orators and newspapers grew eloquent in their opposition to the proposed law. Remonstrances were sent to the king and to Parliament, and agents were sent to object to the plan. The ministers urged that the expenses of the French and Indian War should be borne by the colonies in whose defense it was undertaken, to which it was conclusively replied that Great Britain had gained much by her increase of territory, that she ought to protect her colonies without regard to mercenary motives, and that the Americans had proved themselves strong enough to fight their own battles.

Nevertheless in March, 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act by a unanimous vote in the house of lords, and a majority of 5 to 1 in the house of commons. George III. at the time was in one of his fits of insanity, and the royal assent to the bill was therefore given, on March 22d, by a board of commissioners acting for the king. The act provided that no legal document—bond or mortgage, or contract or any other—should be valid unless executed on stamped paper, which was to be purchased from the British government for a sum varying from three pence to six pounds sterling. Newspapers and similar publications must also be printed on stamped paper, and every advertisement was taxed. The first day of the next November was set as the time for the act to go into operation.

The news of the passage of this act created the wildest excitement in America, the like of which had never been known. In New York the act was carried through the streets with the inscription, "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America," and in Massachusetts frequent meetings were held under a tree which was called the "Liberty-Tree."

In Virginia the aristocratic leaders of the house of burgesses hesitated to pronounce outspoken opposition, but there was a young member of that body whose feelings of indignation could not restrain themselves. Patrick Henry presented a series of resolutions declaring, among other things, that the colonists were not bound to pay taxes levied on them in this way. He grew eloquent in his argument for the adoption of these resolutions. "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus," he exclaimed; "Charles I. had his Cromwell, and George III.——" "Treason! treason!" was heard from the speaker and from the loyalist members. But Henry continued, "—and George III. may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it!" The resolutions were carried and circulated among the other colonies, where they added fuel to the flame, though the next day, in the absence of Henry, they were modified, to make them less radical.

Massachusetts and New York passed motions of like import, and in the former colony originated the plan of an American Congress to discuss the affairs of the colonies. James Otis was a strong agitator for the adoption of this plan. It was received with favor, South Carolina leading the way in its indorsement, and on October 7, 1765, the First Colonial Congress met at New York. It was composed of twenty-eight delegates from nine colonies, and Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. A Declaration of Rights was adopted after a discussion of three weeks, setting forth that the colonists would not submit to be taxed by any but their own representatives. A petition to the king, loyal but asking for a more considerate policy, and memorials to both houses of Parliament were also drawn up.

The day approached on which the act was to go into effect. Large quantities of the stamped paper

had been prepared and sent to America. In New York and Boston the people seized and destroyed it. The stamp-officers were threatened, and every one of them was forced to resign or leave the country. When the 1st of November came, not a stamp nor a stamp-officer was to be seen. The day was passed as one of mourning—the flags at half-mast, the bells tolling, the stores closed.

Business and society were at first demoralized, though things soon began to run in their usual grooves. But no stamps were used. The merchants of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston agreed to import no more goods from Great Britain till the obnoxious act should be stricken from the statute-books, and the people cheerfully went without their imported luxuries in dress and food. A device was circulated of a snake broken into sections, each representing a colony, with the inscription, "Unite or Die!"

In England many of the people sided with the Americans. The Marquis of Rockingham was now prime minister, and he, as well as Pitt, was the friend of the colonies. A vigorous effort was made to annul the Stamp Act, and on March 18, 1766, it was repealed. But Parliament still insisted on its right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."

For over a year now Parliament did not vex America. In the meantime Pitt had once more been called to the head of the government and made Earl of Chatham. During a sickness of the prime minister one of his colleagues introduced a new bill to impose a duty on all paper, glass, lead, paints, and tea which should be imported into the colonies. This was carried on June 29, 1767. At the same time the powers of the general assembly of New York were suspended till it should vote supplies for quartering the British troops in accordance with a former act.

Again the people showed their spirit of resistance.

The merchants made another compact to import no British goods; the newspapers contained fierce and patriotic articles. The assembly of Massachusetts, in February, 1768, called on the other colonies for co-operation and consultation. The ministers demanded that their action be repealed; the assembly reaffirmed it with an almost unanimous vote. The governor dissolved their body, but before they separated they drew up charges against the governor and asked the king to remove him.

In June of this year, 1768, a sloop was seized by the custom-house officers on a charge of having evaded the payment of duties. The people rose and drove the officers to the fort in Boston harbor. The governor now asked the government for aid, and 700 regular soldiers were brought from Halifax to overawe the inhabitants of Boston. The authorities of that city, highly incensed at this action, refused point-blank to provide quarters for the soldiers, and General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was obliged to dispose of them as best he could.

In February, 1769, Parliament declared the people of Massachusetts to be rebels, and instructed the governor to make arrests and send those charged with treason to England for trial. The assembly passed defiant resolutions. In Virginia and North Carolina the people became violent. An insurrection broke out in the latter province, which, however, was put down by Governor Tryon. The insurgents—"Regulators," as they were called—crossed the mountains and laid the foundations of Tennessee.

In the early part of 1770 the inhabitants of New York had a dispute with the soldiers regarding a liberty-pole, in which the people gained their point On March 5th a serious difficulty arose in Boston. The people were bitterly opposed to the presence of

soldiers among them and did not hesitate to make taunting and harsh remarks. This ill-feeling culminated at last on this day, when a guard of the soldiers, under Captain Preston, provoked by the jeers of the crowd, fired a volley that killed three citizens and wounded eleven, two of these mortally.

This Boston Massacre, as it was called, roused the city to a state of fury. The people assembled in arms, and Samuel Adams spoke for them and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the troops. Governor Hutchinson was forced to yield. The troops were withdrawn, and Captain Preston and his guard were arrested and tried. Two were convicted of manslaughter and the rest acquitted.

Lord North was now prime minister, and on this very 5th of March he carried through Parliament an act removing the duty on all American imports except tea. Duty was retained on that article, only to show the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. The Americans saw at once what it meant, and they indorsed the action of their merchants, who now maintained their non-importation compact on tea alone.

In 1772 another obnoxious act was passed, requiring the salaries of the governor and judges of Massachusetts to be paid out of the colonial treasury, without the permission of the assembly. The assembly declared that this act was void because a violation of their chartered rights. About the same time, in Narragansett Bay, a party from Providence boarded and burned a royal schooner, the *Gaspé*, which had been annoying them.

In 1773 the ministers attempted to get the better of the colonists by strategy. The export duty which had heretofore been exacted on tea when it left the English ports was abolished. It was thought that by this means the price of tea would be so much lowered, even with the import duty into America, that the col-

onists would buy. It was principle, not price, however, for which the colonists contended. New York and Philadelphia prevented the tea from being landed. In Charleston it was stored in damp cellars and spoiled.

In Boston the people took a dramatic means to accomplish their purpose. On the night of December 16th a party of about fifty men, disguised as Indians, boarded the three vessels in the harbor which had brought cargoes of tea, broke open every chest, and poured the contents into the sea. To this event is given the humorous name of the "Boston Tea-party."

In revenge for this act Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill on March 31, 1774, by the provisions of which the harbor of Boston was closed to trade and the custom-house was removed to Salem, which was made the port of entry. But Salem and Marblehead offered the use of their wharves and warehouses to the merchants of Boston. On May 20th the old charter of Massachusetts was revoked, the people were proclaimed to be rebels, and the governor was ordered to arrest and send abroad for trial all who should resist the king's officers.

The Second Colonial Congress met at Philadelphia in September, with delegates from eleven colonies. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was president. A resolution was unanimously adopted to sustain Massachusetts in her struggle with tyranny, and addresses were sent to the king, to the English nation, and to the inhabitants of Canada. It was also recommended that commercial intercourse with Great Britain should be suspended till justice be done. The Congress then adjourned to meet again on May 10, 1775.

Parliament answered by ordering General Gage, now governor of Massachusetts, to bring the colonists into submission by force, and for this purpose a fleet

and 10,000 soldiers were sent to America. Boston Neck, the only approach to the town by land, was fortified, and the military stores at Charlestown and Cambridge were brought to the city.

The general assembly of Massachusetts was prevented from assembling But the members-elect organized themselves into a provincial congress and voted about $90,000 for defense and appointed officers to muster the militia of the province. One-fourth of this militia were ordered to be ready at a minute's notice, and hence were called "Minute-men."

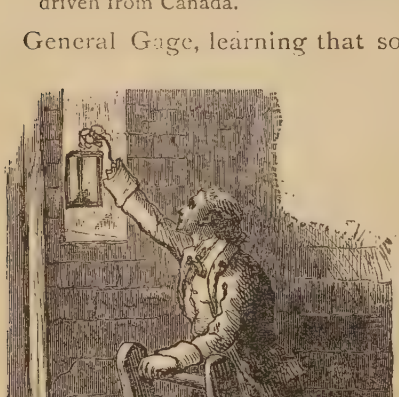
So affairs stood in the spring of 1775. Argument and entreaty, expostulation and defiance, have been tried in vain. The contest for liberty must be decided by arms and the priceless gift sealed with blood.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REVOLUTION—1775.

Paul Revere's ride—The battles of Lexington and Concord—Effect on the country—Israel Putnam—Ethan Allen captures Ticonderoga—The battle of Bunker Hill—The Americans retreat—Congress—Washington elected commander-in-chief—Sketch of his life—Assumes command—The Virginia patriots—Northern expeditions—Montgomery captures Montreal—Benedict Arnold's march—Assault on Quebec—Montgomery killed—Arnold is wounded and withdraws—The Americans driven from Canada.

General Gage, learning that some of the colony's ammunition was concealed at Concord, sixteen miles from Boston, on the night of April 18, 1775, dispatched a force of 800 men, under Colonel Smith, to destroy the stores. The patriots discovered his intention. From the tower of the Old North church shone the signal-light that had been agreed on. Paul Revere and William Dawes set off by different routes to alarm the militia. By hard rid-



LANTERN IN OLD NORTH CHURCH GIVING NOTICE TO PAUL REVERE.

ing the country was aroused. It was still dark on the morning of April 19th when the minute-men assembled on the green at Lexington. But as the British failed to appear they dispersed.

At 5 o'clock they met once more, less than seventy in number, under Captain Parker, when the advance body of the enemy, under Major Pitcairn, came in sight. As the British drew near Pitcairn exclaimed: "Disperse, ye villains! ye rebels, disperse!" The pa-

PUTNAM LEAVES FARMING FOR FIGHTING.

triots kept their ranks. Pitcairn discharged his pistol and gave the command, "Fire!" A murderous volley, the first of the Revolution, poured upon the Americans, and after firing a few shots, which did little or no damage, they were forced to disperse before the superior numbers of the British. Seven of their comrades were killed and nine wounded. Such was the result of the battle of Lexington.

The British proceeded to Concord, but the Ameri-

cans had removed most of their stores and the enemy accomplished little in the way of destruction. Meanwhile the minute-men were assembling, and finally a contest arose between the forces for the possession of a bridge over the Concord River, in which the Americans were successful, and two of the enemy were killed. The enemy began their retreat, but the minute-men, gathering from every side, kept up a fire for six miles along their route from behind trees, fences, and any shelter that offered. Only the arrival of re-enforcements prevented utter rout. The result of the battle of Concord and the running fight on the retreat was for the Americans 49 killed, 34 wounded, and 5 missing, and for the British 273 in killed, wounded, and missing—a greater loss than they had suffered in the battle before Quebec, when Wolfe lost his life.

This fight was like an electric shock to the country. The militia from all quarters hastened to the neighborhood of Boston. Intrenchments were drawn from Roxbury to Chelsea, and 20,000 men filled them. John Stark came from New Hampshire, Nathaniel Greene from Rhode Island, Benedict Arnold from New Haven, each with brave men at his back. Israel Putnam, when he heard the news, dropped on the instant his farm-work, and without waiting to change his clothing, rode 100 miles in eighteen hours to reach the scene of action. "Old Put," as he was familiarly called, had already distinguished himself in the French and Indian War, and his youthful feat of successfully braving a fierce wolf in her den will always be remembered.

Meanwhile a company of less than 300 men at Bennington had chosen Ethan Allen, of Vermont, for their colonel, and meditated an attack on Ticonderoga. Benedict Arnold joined the expedition as a private, and on May 9th the force had reached, undiscovered, the shores of Lake Champlain opposite the fort. By

the time light dawned on the next morning eighty-three men had crossed. With Allen and Arnold at their head they gained with a rush the entrance to the fort. Allen demanded from the commandant its instant surrender. "By whose authority?" asked that officer. "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" replied Allen. The garrison numbered only forty-eight men. They surrendered.

PUTNAM ENTERING THE WOLF'S DEN.

By the result of this brilliant exploit, a strong fort that had cost £8,000,000, 120 cannon, and large quantities of military munitions and stores fell into the hands of the Americans. Two days afterward Crown Point was secured.

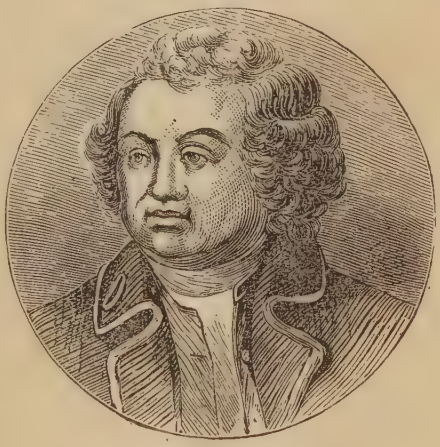
To return to Boston. On the 25th of May Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne reached that city

bringing soldiers with them. The British forces now numbered more than 10,000 men. Gage issued a proclamation offering pardon to all the rebels, provided they would lay down their arms, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who by their earnest efforts in the cause of liberty had made themselves specially conspicuous. The Americans, fearing that the British with their increased force would descend on the surrounding country, determined to prevent such an event by fortifying Bunker Hill, in Charlestown. Colonel Prescott was sent with 1,000 men to accomplish this purpose. On the night of the 16th of June he reached the spot, but chose Breed's Hill for the fortification as a more advantageous position. All night the men worked, and when the sun rose on the 17th the British were surprised to see their redoubt.

The enemy saw the necessity of capturing at once a position which commanded the city. A cannonade from the ships and a battery in Boston was commenced, but did little injury. In the early part of the afternoon 3,000 regulars, under the command of Howe and Pigot, crossed to Charlestown, intending to take by storm the redoubt, that was defended only by 1,500 provincials, worn out by their labor. But the spirit of the Americans was strong, and Putnam and Warren, having volunteered as privates, were among them.

At 3 o'clock the British advanced in column, while a fierce cannonade was directed on the works. The provincials waited till the British regulars were within 150 feet, and then poured such a heavy and well-directed fire upon the enemy that they recoiled and soon retreated. Again the British charged, amid the smoke of burning Charlestown, to which they had applied the torch, and again were driven back by a murderous fire.

Now the fleet was brought into a position where its guns could command the inside of the redoubt, and the British a third time advanced with fixed bayonets. The Americans fired their few remaining rounds of ammunition, and then, as the enemy crossed the ramparts, clubbed their muskets and fought with desperation. But the advantages were now with the British, and the patriots were obliged to withdraw. Under the lead of Prescott and Putnam they retired to Prospect Hill, where a new line of intrenchments was formed. One hundred and forty-five of the Americans, among the former the gallant Warren, were killed or missing, and 304 wounded. The British lost 1,054 in killed and wounded.



ISRAEL PUTNAM.

It was true that the battle of Bunker Hill had resulted in the British gaining the desired position, but it was a success attended with such loss, and the provincial troops had proven themselves so efficient against even trained veterans, that the people were encouraged rather than disheartened. As the news spread through the colonies the Americans were aroused to a more determined spirit, and some of the citizens of North Carolina even proclaimed their independence.

On the very day (the 10th of May) that Allen had invoked its name in the capture of Ticonderoga, the Congress assembled at Philadelphia. John Hancock was its president, and among its members were Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Franklin, and John and Samuel Adams. A final address was prepared to George III. declaring that the Americans preferred even war to slavery. Then the subject of defense was discussed, and John Adams, in an eloquent speech, nominated Washington as the commander-in-chief of the colonial armies. On June 15th his name was unanimously confirmed.

The position to which George Washington was called was a most trying one, but he had already shown himself to be a man cast in a heroic mold. Born in Virginia on the 22d of February, 1732, he was bereft of his father in boyhood and left to the care of a gifted mother. His education in most respects had been an ordinary one, but he studied and practiced surveying. Fond of out-door exercises and military life, he was dignified in demeanor, of sound judgment and unblemished reputation. His experience in surveying in the wilderness had rendered him well fitted to perform the difficult journey which he made just before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, and he naturally played a leading part in Braddock's campaign, when he gained fresh laurels. Subsequently he was a member of the Virginia legislature and later of the Colonial Congress.

Washington accepted the office to which he had been elected, refusing all pay beyond his expenses, and set out at once for Cambridge, where he arrived on July 2d, and under an old elm-tree assumed command of the army. He was fully aware of the responsibility of his office. Congress had indeed voted to raise an army of 20,000 men, but the means to equip them it did not possess. Independence had not

been declared, and for half a year the king's reply to their address was delayed.

Washington assumed the command of a force of 14,500 men, undisciplined and poorly armed. He at once set about organizing his force and disposing it advantageously. The right wing, under General Ward, rested at Roxbury, the left, under General Charles Lee, at Prospect Hill, near Charlestown Neck, and Washington, with the center, lay at Cambridge. Boston was besieged.

THE OLD ELM-TREE AT CAMBRIDGE.

Meanwhile the various colonies were aroused against the king's officers. The royal governors were forced to resign, were driven away, or took the popular side. Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, seized the powder of the colony, but was forced to pay for it by the people under the leadership of Patrick Henry. Then Dunmore raised a force of loyalists, and was defeated by the colonists at Great Bridge, near Norfolk. Before he left the country he burned that city.

In the fall a campaign was directed against Canada, to gain possession of the country or assist the Canadians in espousing the cause of the southern colonies. The assistance of Canada was strongly hoped for.

Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, proceeding by way of Lake Champlain, reached St. John on September 10th, but finding the place too strong fell back to Isle-aux-Noix, in the Sorrel River. Schuyler, returning to Ticonderoga for re-enforcements, was taken sick and Montgomery assumed command. Advancing again on St. John he captured that place, took Fort Chambly, and on the 13th of November forced Montreal to capitulate. His army was now reduced to 300 men by the necessity of garrisoning the places he had taken. With these, however, he advanced toward Quebec.

In the meantime Colonel Benedict Arnold had set out on a march from Cambridge, by way of the Kenebec and thence through the wilderness, toward the same city. He started with 1,000 men, among whom were Morgan, Greene, Meigs, and Aaron Burr—all destined to occupy prominent positions, some glorious, one the reverse, in their country's history After a march of the most extreme suffering, during which the troops were forced by threatened starvation to live on dog's-meat and gnaw their moccasins of moose-skin, they reached Quebec.

Arnold's force was not strong enough to warrant an attack on the city. He therefore withdrew twenty miles up the river, where Montgomery joined him, took command, and descended to Quebec. With only 900 men Montgomery, for three weeks, besieged a city strongly fortified and defended by a superior force. Then he determined to attempt an assault.

Before light on the 31st of December Montgomery led part of the army to attack the Lower Town near the citadel. Arnold conducted another column, by way of the St. Charles River, to unite with Montgomery and storm Prescott Gate. The remainder of the army remained, to draw the attention of the garrison.

A battery confronted Montgomery, but it was believed that the assaulting party had not been seen. "Forward!" shouted the leader, and the column advanced. Suddenly the battery opened fire with grapeshot. Montgomery fell dead. His force was shattered and obliged to withdraw. Not only did the soldiers mourn their general, but the country shared

MAP OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

their grief for a man of such superior nature and heroic life as Richard Montgomery.

Arnold's division fared no better. He fought his way bravely into the Lower Town, but was seriously wounded and borne to the rear. Some of his men continued to advance along the narrow streets till they were compelled to surrender. The assault on Quebec had failed.

Arnold finally withdrew the army and retired to a point three miles above the city. Though re-enforcements arrived, another attack was prevented by the breaking out of small-pox in his camp. And when the St. Lawrence was clear of ice the garrison of the city was strengthened by the arrival of additional soldiers from England. Offensive movements were begun by the British, and the Americans were obliged to retire step by step till, by the middle of the next year, they had completely withdrawn from Canada.

Thus ended the first year of the Revolution—the year of success at Concord, of defeat which was a victory at Bunker Hill, and of failure but not disgrace at Quebec.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REVOLUTION—1776—INDEPENDENCE.

The king's answer to Congress—Howe succeeds Gage—The Americans fortify Dorchester Heights—The British evacuate Boston—Are defeated at Fort Sullivan—Condition of the two armies—Congress—Richard Henry Lee's resolution—Jefferson writes the Declaration of Independence—It is adopted—Its nature—How it was received—The British concentrate near New York—They endeavor to secure peace—The battle of Long Island—The Americans retire to New York—The battle of White Plains—Washington retreats across New Jersey—Crosses the Delaware—General Lee is captured—Washington recrosses the Delaware—Surprises and routs the Hessians—Effect of the victory—Robert Morris.

The answer of George III. to the Continental Congress was not calculated to allay the rebellious spirit of the Americans. He refused to recognize the authority of such a body as the Congress, and demanded that the army disband; then he would deal with the separate colonies in the settlement of disputes.

At Boston Howe had succeeded Gage in command of the British. The Americans still surrounded the city, but Washington feared to make a rash attack which by its failure would dishearten the country. He strengthened the fortifications, and by the end of winter thought that an assault might be safely attempted. His officers, however, preferred another plan, and this he adopted.

Bunker Hill, which commanded Boston on the north, was still occupied by the British, but Dorchester Heights, which overlooked the city from the

south, had been neglected by the enemy. For two days the American batteries by their incessant fire engaged the attention of the British, and on the night of March 4th General Thomas was sent to occupy the heights. Through the hours of darkness the patriots labored with energy, and the next morning Howe was surprised and chagrined to find his position commanded by the American cannon.

He immediately dispatched a force to storm the intrenchments. The British reached Castle Island, in the harbor, and it was expected that they would soon land and attack the heights. Washington went among the men and found them courageous and determined. But their valor was not put to the proof. A storm arose that prevented the transportation of the British on that day, and by the next morning the American works were too strong to be attacked.

Negotiations were now entered into between Washington and Howe for the evacuation of Boston. It was arranged that the British should leave unharmed, provided the city should not be burned.

On March 17th the king's army embarked on the fleet and sailed for Halifax. Fifteen hundred persons of royalist feelings accompanied them. On the 20th Washington formally occupied the city. The country was overjoyed, and Congress passed a unanimous resolution of thanks to Washington and struck off a gold medal for him in honor of his success.

While the siege of Boston was still in progress Washington had sent General Lee, with the Connecticut militia, to New York to prevent a suspected attack on that city by an expedition from Boston under Sir Henry Clinton. Lee reached New York just before Clinton, who at once sailed southward. Lee also proceeded in the same direction.

Clinton, joined by Sir Peter Parker with another fleet and Lord Cornwallis with 2,500 men, reached

Charleston in the early part of June, and landed a force on Long Island, near Fort Sullivan, which, situated on Sullivan's Island, protected the harbor. On June 28th an attack on the fort was commenced by a bombardment. Four hundred provincials defended it under Colonel Moultrie.

Several of the British vessels were stranded. A body of troops, attempting to attack the position from the rear, were repulsed by riflemen. The cannonade from the fleet was fierce, but the balls sunk into the soft palmetto logs of the fort without splintering them, while the guns of the Americans were carefully aimed and did great damage. The provincials fought with energy. At one time their flag-staff was shot away by a ball, but Sergeant Jasper leaped outside the ramparts and replaced it at the peril of his life. Finally, as darkness approached the British drew off, and soon after sailed for New York. Their fleet was badly shattered and they had lost 200 men, among them the royal governor of South Carolina, Lord Campbell. Sir Peter Parker was wounded. The Americans had lost but thirty-two in killed and wounded. In honor of their gallant commander, Fort Sullivan was renamed Fort Moultrie.

The army under Washington had been increased nominally to about 27,000 men, but from sickness and the expiration of terms of enlistment his fighting force was much smaller. Great Britain meanwhile had raised 25,000 more English soldiers and voted a large sum of money for the prosecution of the war. Worse still, George III. had hired 17,000 Hessians in Germany to fight his battles.

It was not till this time that the Americans became united in their desire for independence, but now all hope seemed lost of a reconciliation with England. The Virginia legislature recommended that Congress proclaim independence.

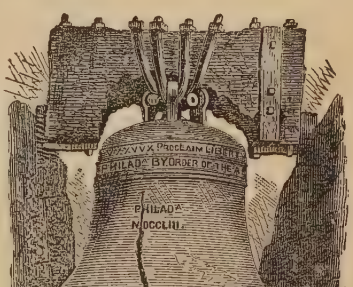
It was on the 7th of June, 1776, that Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved in Congress the adoption of a resolution declaring that the "United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." After a discussion of some days the final debate was postponed till July 1st. In the meantime a committee of five was appointed to draft a more formal declaration. Lee was prevented by sickness from participating in the labors of this committee, and Thomas Jefferson, his colleague, was therefore made chairman. The other members were John Adams, of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; Robert R. Livingston, of New York; and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania.

The work of preparing the document fell to Jefferson. It was presented as he wrote it, with a few unimportant changes by Adams and Franklin. On July 1st the consideration of Lee's motion and the report of the committee were taken up. The next day Lee's resolution was carried. On the 3d the report of the committee was vigorously debated, and on July 4th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the Continental Congress, without a dissenting vote, adopted the Declaration of Independence.

The effect of this wonderful document on the world will never be lost nor its principles forgotten. It laid down the general maxims that all men are created equal and possess a natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the people ought to alter their government when it becomes subversive of these ends. It then proceeded to recite the grievances of the colonists against the British government, and it was a clear deduction, from the long record of despotic acts, of appeals disregarded and tyranny increased, that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." Such was the document signed by the representatives of the

thirteen colonies, who pledged for its support their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

The declaration was received with enthusiasm by the entire country from the moment when the old bellman in the state-house at Philadelphia rang out the news for which he had stood waiting all the day. Messengers hastened to spread the action of Congress through the colonies. Everywhere the people rejoiced. In New York the leaden statue of the king was melted into bullets for the patriot army, and Washington ordered the declaration to be read in the presence of every brigade.



LIBERTY BELL.

General Howe remained at Halifax for some time, but early in July, sailing southward, he landed with 9,000 men on Staten Island. There he was joined by Clinton from the south, and by his brother, Admiral Howe, from England. His force now numbered 30,000 men, nearly half of whom were Hessians. Washington, having strengthened Boston, had also come to New York with the body of his army, but his force was far from equal to the British in numbers, arms, or discipline.

Lord Howe, the admiral, had been commissioned to conciliate the Americans if possible. He sent a letter to the commander-in-chief of the American army, addressed to "George Washington, Esquire." Washington very properly refused to receive a com-

munication in which the dignity of his office, not himself, was insulted. And he was not to be snared by another letter directed to "George Washington, etc., etc., etc.," which the messenger explained might imply his proper title. Howe possessed little more power than to grant pardons, which Washington saw no use for. The colonies were independent and would fight for liberty.

The British now determined on an active campaign. On the 22d of August 10,000 soldiers were landed on Long Island near New Utrecht. The Americans who defended Brooklyn numbered only 8,000. Generals Sullivan and Sterling were in command.

On the 27th the British advanced in three columns by different routes. General Grant attacked Stirling on the hill that is now within Greenwood Cemetery, but without a decisive result for either side. General Heister led the Hessians against the main body of the Americans, under Sullivan, in the neighborhood of Flatbush. For some time the Hessians were kept at bay, but finally Clinton, who had passed around to the Jamaica road, fell unexpectedly on the left flank and rear of the Americans. Putnam had been sent over from New York to take command, but he had failed to guard his flank properly. The patriots were surrounded but fought bravely, and many of them escaped. The remainder were killed or captured.

Cornwallis proceeded to cut off Stirling's retreat, but for a while the British were repulsed and most of the patriots rejoined their comrades, though many were drowned or captured at Gowanus Creek.

Washington had arrived at the scene of battle before the contest was finished, but he could do nothing to retrieve the defeat. Nearly 1,000 of his army were dead or bleeding or in the hands of the enemy. Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodhull were among the prisoners. The British had not lost over 400 men,

and it would have been easy for them to have utterly routed or captured the shattered Americans.

But Washington drew his forces together and waited in his intrenchments, and the enemy did not follow up their victory. On the next day the 28th, they were also inactive. Their delay proved ruinous to their success, for on the 29th a heavy fog concealed the movements of the Americans from view, and Washington, knowing that it would be impossible to hold his position, determined to retire to New York. Every boat that could be procured was lying ready when evening came, and during the darkness of night, with muffled oars, the transports plied across the East River, bearing the patriots to safety. The enemy did not discover the movement till the last boat-load was leaving at daylight the next morning. Their prey had escaped by a most masterly retreat.

But Washington's perils were not over. His soldiers were discouraged, and when their periods of enlistment expired many of them returned home and others deserted. Moreover, the British fleet was now within cannon-shot of the city. Washington called a council of war and retired to Harlem Heights. On September 15th the British crossed, took possession of the city, and drew their lines from river to river to the south of the American intrenchments. Howe thought the position of affairs favorable for procuring peace and made overtures to Congress, but he received little satisfaction from that determined body.

On September 16th a skirmish occurred in which the Americans, with a loss of about fifty, gained the advantage over the British, who lost 100 men. A month later Howe embarked his forces and landed near Westchester, at the entrance to Long Island Sound. His object was to cut off Washington's army from New England. But the American commander marched his troops across the Harlem River

and confronted the British. For several days the armies changed their positions, till on the 28th of October they found themselves at White Plains, where a battle was fought. The Americans were forced backward, but made frequent stands against the enemy, and at night Washington retired to the heights of North Castle. Howe, a few days later, returned to New York.

Washington, fearing that the British would advance on Philadelphia, now crossed the Hudson to Fort Lee, leaving General Lee at North Castle and Colonel Magaw at Fort Washington. It was the able construction of the latter post, situated on the upper end of Manhattan Island, that made Washington acquainted with its engineer, Alexander Hamilton, at that time only twenty years of age.

The British attacked Fort Washington November 16th, and though Colonel Magaw made a gallant defense, he was forced by superior numbers to capitulate. Over 2,000 men were made prisoners of war. On the 18th Cornwallis crossed the Hudson and advanced against Fort Lee with 6,000 men. Washington could not hope to contend against this force and withdrew beyond the Hackensack, leaving Fort Lee with the military stores of the army, in the hands of the British.

Now began a retreat across New Jersey. With 3,000 men Washington retired in succession to Newark, to Elizabethtown, to New Brunswick, to Princeton, and at last reached Trenton, on the Delaware, the British and Hessians, under Cornwallis and Knyphausen, all the while in close pursuit. On December 8th Washington crossed the Delaware, and only prevented the enemy from following by securing or destroying every boat for miles along the stream. Cornwallis waited for the river to freeze and meanwhile stationed his men at various points. Congress,

not daring to hope that Philadelphia could be defended when the British should cross the river, adjourned to Baltimore, and on December 20th gave

WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

Washington the absolute power of a dictator to prosecute the war.

In the meantime Admiral Parker had succeeded in

blockading the American fleet, under Commander Hopkins, in the Blackstone River, in Rhode Island. About the same time General Lee was captured near Morristown while marching to join Washington. He was a proud and self-willed man and had delayed a long while before following Washington's repeated orders. The command of his force was now assumed by Sullivan, who had been exchanged, and that general joined Washington at once. With other additions, the American army on the Delaware now numbered about 6,000 men.

The opportunity for which Washington had waited came at length. Cornwallis, thinking that the annihilation of the American army was only a question of days, had left the army under the command of Grant and was preparing to return on a visit to England. The Hessians were scattered in various towns. On Christmas Day they would hold high revel, and that night was selected for the attack.

Washington had planned to cross the river in three divisions, but when the night of the 25th came the Delaware was filled with floating masses of ice, and only his own division succeeded in reaching the eastern side through the bitter cold and a fierce storm. Sullivan and Greene, with 2,400 men, were with him. It was 3 o'clock in the morning before they accomplished the passage and landed a few miles above Trenton, the object of their attack. Washington and Greene led part of the force around by the Princeton road, and Sullivan kept along the river. It was 8 on the morning of the 26th when the Americans entered the town from two directions, but they had calculated on the Hessians sleeping late after their carousals. The enemy were completely surprised. Their commander, Colonel Rall, was mortally wounded. The soldiers attempted to form their ranks, but about fifty of them were killed by the fire of the Americans

and the rest threw down their arms and cried for quarter. A few of the enemy had succeeded in escaping, but the Americans captured nearly 1,000, with six cannon and 1,200 small-arms. Washington dared not stay in Trenton, and retired the same day to the western bank of the Delaware with his prisoners.

This brilliant exploit infused fresh courage into the desponding country. Soldiers gathered in increased numbers to the American standard. Many whose terms of enlistment were about to expire re-enlisted. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, a merchant of large fortune, gave and raised much money, which was sorely needed by the impoverished army. Washington soon recrossed the Delaware and stationed himself at Trenton. On the other hand, the British were thunderstruck and discouraged. Cornwallis gave up his trip to England and returned to his command and assembled his forces at Princeton.

The year of independence had been one of much discouragement. The evacuation of Boston in the north and the defense of Charleston in the south had been followed by the disastrous battle of Long Island and the retreat of Washington from the Hudson to the Delaware. But it closed with the renewed hope that was caused by Washington's splendid generalship.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REVOLUTION—1777.

Washington outgenerals Cornwallis—Defeats the British at Princeton—Minor engagements—Meigs surprises the British at Sag Harbor—The British withdraw from New Jersey—The British general Prescott captured—Congress—Attitude of France—Lafayette—De Kalb, Kosciusko, Pulaski, and Steuben—Burgoyne's expedition—The Americans abandon Ticonderoga—Repulse the British at Hubbardton—The battle of Bennington—St. Leger in the Mohawk valley—Fort Schuyler saved to the Americans—Gates succeeds Schuyler—Bemis' Heights fortified—A battle fought—Clinton's expedition up the Hudson—Burgoyne defeated—Surrenders—Howe moves on Philadelphia—Opposed by Washington—The battle of the Brandywine—The Americans defeated—Maneuvering—The British occupy Philadelphia—They are unsuccessfully attacked at Germantown—Forts Mercer and Mifflin captured by the British—Valley Forge—Intrigues against Washington.

On January 2, 1777, Cornwallis advanced from Princeton with a large force, and skirmishing followed between the armies. Washington left Trenton and crossed Assanpink Creek, which he was able to prevent the British from passing.

Night now closed in. Retreat or defeat would be ruinous to the American cause. Success could hardly be hoped for against the superior numbers of the enemy. In this crisis Washington determined on another of his flank movements. Leaving a guard to keep the camp-fires burning, he passed around the British army and by a circuitous march reached Princeton. As light dawned on January 3d Cornwallis heard the American cannon thirteen miles in his rear. "Washington has outgeneraled us!" he exclaimed.

As the Americans drew near Princeton they met a body of the enemy leaving to re-enforce Cornwallis, and the fight began at once. The Americans, under General Mercer, took an advantageous position behind a fence and poured a deadly fire into the enemy's ranks. They had no bayonets, however, and when the British charged they gave way and Mercer was mortally wounded. Washington now arrived opportunely with fresh troops, rallied the men, and rode into the very thick of the fight, within thirty yards of the enemy's lines. At that moment a volley was fired from both sides. Washington's aid-de-camp drew his hat over his eyes, that he might not see his leader fall. But as the smoke lifted the commander-in-chief was seen to be uninjured. "The day is ours!" he cried. The British were broken and flying. It was only by discipline and great valor that they were able to retreat. But they lost in killed, wounded, and missing 430 men, while the American loss was trifling.

Washington desired to advance to New Brunswick, where quantities of British stores were collected, but his men were too much fatigued with the march and the battle, and Cornwallis was approaching. The American general therefore retired to Morristown. His success had roused the patriots of New Jersey, already exasperated by the excesses of the British and Hessians, and the militia harassed the enemy on every hand. Cornwallis abandoned one post after another, till soon he held only New Brunswick and Amboy.

For some months now there were no large battles, but several minor engagements occurred in various quarters. Early in the spring McDougal, in charge of the American stores at Peekskill, was forced to blow up the magazine and retire before a fleet sent up the Hudson by General Howe. On April 13th

General Lincoln was surprised at Boundbrook, on the Raritan, and forced backward with a small loss. On the 25th General Tryon burned Danbury, Connecticut, and demolished the American stores collected there. But on his way to the coast he was assailed by the patriots, under the lead of Wooster and Arnold, and lost 200 men. The American loss was about sixty, but Wooster was among the killed.

On the night of May 22d Colonel Meigs, of Connecticut, transported a force of Americans across the Sound in whale-boats and surprised the British at Sag Harbor. He burned an armed vessel and a number of transports of the enemy, destroyed their stores, and returned to Connecticut with ninety prisoners, without the loss of a man. For this exploit Congress gave him a handsome sword.

Meanwhile Washington remained at Morristown. In the latter part of May he broke up winter quarters and stationed himself at Boundbrook to watch the enemy. Howe joined Cornwallis at Brunswick, and, by a feint, endeavored to take Washington from his strong position. Finding his attempt unsuccessful he withdrew, and Washington advanced to Quibbletown. There he was suddenly attacked by Howe on the night of June 25th, and without great loss he retired to Boundbrook. Finally the British retired, and on the last day of June, crossing to Staten Island, withdrew completely from New Jersey.

On the night of July 10th Colonel Barton succeeded in capturing, near Newport, General Prescott, of the British army. For the success of his exploit, which gave the Americans an officer of equal rank to be exchanged for General Lee, Barton was promoted and presented with a sword.

Congress was now in session again at Philadelphia, and though its power was not complete over the action of the separate states, it did much to strengthen

the army and the patriots' cause. France, too, was coming to the rescue. The French government would not do anything officially to provoke a conflict with England, but much was done in a quiet way. During this year arms and ammunition were obtained from France in considerable quantities, and better than all, there came a man to assist in the struggle for freedom whose name has ever been held most dear to this people. The Marquis de Lafayette was a young nobleman, not yet twenty years of age; but his heart went out to the nation that was battling against tyranny. He wished to assist them, but the king would not grant permission and the British minister protested. Nothing daunted, Lafayette fitted out a vessel at his own expense, left his home and his newly married wife, eluded the officers sent to detain him, and succeeded in reaching our shores in April, 1777. He offered his services to Congress as a volunteer without pay and entered the army, but he was soon commissioned a major-general. Between him and Washington there soon began the intimate friendship that was ever unbroken.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Baron de Kalb came with Lafayette—an experienced French officer. Kosciusko, a Polish nobleman, had already come to aid the Americans, and in this year Count Pulaski, of the same nation, also arrived. All of these received commissions in the American army and did great service for the cause. In the fall Baron Steuben, a veteran Prussian officer, arrived, and be-

ing made inspector-general, did much to perfect the discipline of the army.

During the spring Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, commander of the English forces in Canada, had been preparing for a campaign, which proved to be one of the most important events of the whole war. His plan was to march by way of Lake Champlain, descend the Hudson, and join the main body of the British army in New York, thus cutting off New England from the rest of the country. By the beginning of summer he was at the foot of Lake Champlain with about 10,000 men, the majority of whom were English or Hessians, and about 3,000 Canadians and Indians.

He occupied Crown Point, which was undefended, and then advanced on Ticonderoga, which was garrisoned by 3,000 men, under General St. Clair. The British occupied an advantageous position and St. Clair saw the hopelessness of attempting to defend the fort. He therefore abandoned the place on the night of July 5th. The English pursued, and two days later came up with the rear guard of the Americans at Hubbardton, seventeen miles from Ticonderoga. There the pursuit was checked by a sharp engagement, and the patriots continued their march. The next day the British succeeded in capturing at Whitehall a considerable quantity of stores and provisions.

St. Clair joined General Schuyler, who commanded the army of the north, at Fort Edward. The American forces, less than 5,000 in number, were thought too small to withstand Burgoyne, and Schuyler therefore withdrew to the mouth of the Mohawk. Burgoyne reached Fort Edward on July 30th. His provisions were running short, and he dispatched 500 men, under Colonel Baum, to capture the provincial stores at Bennington. This force encountered Colonel Stark and the New Hampshire militia on

August 16th, and after a fierce engagement were defeated. Hessian re-enforcements, under Breymann, were routed by the Green Mountain Boys, under Colonel Warren, and the victory was won. The American loss was about seventy. The British lost twice as many in killed and wounded, besides nearly 700 prisoners. The effect of this battle greatly cheered the hearts of the people.

Meanwhile success was attending the American cause in another quarter. Before Burgoyne had left Canada he had sent Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger against Fort Schuyler, now the city of Rome. His force consisted of Canadians, Indians, and Tories, as the royalist people of the provinces came to be called. Fort Schuyler was garrisoned by a small body of militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gansevoort. St. Leger surrounded the fort on August 3d. General Herkimer raised a force of militia and advanced to the rescue, but falling into an ambuscade was defeated with considerable loss. The garrison, however, were more fortunate. They made a successful sally, and hearing of Herkimer's repulse returned with their prisoners. Meanwhile the daring Arnold had volunteered to lead a force to the rescue. By a strategy he gave St. Leger a false idea of his strength, and at his approach the British and Indians raised the siege and retired. Fort Schuyler remained in the possession of the patriots.

The prospect now seemed brighter for the main body of the army, which was watching Burgoyne. General Gates had taken the place of Schuyler, Washington had sent re-enforcements, Lincoln had led the New England militia, and Morgan had brought his riflemen. The American army of the north numbered more than 9,000 men. General Gates moved up the river to Stillwater, and Bemis' Heights, just north of this place, were fortified under Kosciusko's

supervision. Burgoyne now crossed the Hudson to Saratoga and gradually advanced his lines. On the 19th of September a battle was fought between part of the forces, which each side claimed as a victory. At night the Americans withdrew to their intrenchments and the British lay on their arms. Burgoyne had lost more men than the Americans and had failed to accomplish his object in driving them from their position. The Americans therefore regarded the battle as a victory for the patriot cause.

Burgoyne's chief hope now lay in General Clinton, who commanded at New York. That general sailed up the Hudson and carried by storm Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery. A detachment under Colonel Vaughan kept on till they reached Kingston, which they burned. So far as it went this expedition was favorable to the British, and if they had continued at once up the river Burgoyne would have been relieved. Clinton, however, delayed till it was too late. He could boast only of a few posts captured and stores destroyed.

Burgoyne was now in a hazardous situation. The American army hemmed him in closer and closer, and his provisions were failing fast. He determined to risk another battle. All the afternoon of October 7th the conflict raged furiously. Morgan's sharpshooters killed Fraser, Burgoyne's ablest general, and his men lost heart. Arnold dashed into the fray, though he had resigned his commission through a quarrel with Gates, escaped from the officer sent to recall him, and joined his old command, who received him with cheers. His impetuosity and energy carried all before him. A British stockade was captured, and the Americans bore the palm of victory. Arnold was wounded in the leg as at Quebec, and after the battle was restored to his rank by Congress. The British lost nearly 700 men.

Burgoyne took another position at once, but the Americans followed him. On October 9th he reached Saratoga. Escape to Fort Edward was cut off by the Americans, who held the river. For a few days, however, his brave heart refused to yield. Finally he found he had provisions for only three days. No hope was left. On the 17th of October he surrendered his entire army of 5,791. The Americans were also the richer by thirty-five cannon, 4,600 muskets, besides ammunition and stores. The prisoners were allowed to return to England on condition that they should not serve again as soldiers in this war. Such was the end of Burgoyne's invasion, of which the British had expected so much. They had lost 10,000 men in the whole campaign. The American victory inspired the country, and was a large factor in securing the open assistance of France in the struggle against Great Britain.

While the events we have narrated were occurring in the north, an active campaign was being carried on by Washington and Howe. We have seen how the British retired from New Jersey, but they had by no means given up the attempt to capture Philadelphia. In the latter part of July Howe embarked with 18,000 men to attack that city by way of the Delaware, but on learning that the Americans had obstructed his passage in that direction he sailed up the Chesapeake. Washington meanwhile had marched southward and had gathered about 11,000 or 12,000 men at Wilmington.

In the latter part of August Howe landed in the northeastern part of Maryland and commenced his march against Philadelphia. Washington, despite the superior force of the enemy, hoped to save the capital by a defensive campaign. He took his stand on the eastern side of the Brandywine, a river that flows into the Delaware. On September 11th the

British reached the stream and gave battle. Knyphausen engaged the attention of the Americans at Chad's Ford while Cornwallis and Howe passed up the river, crossed, and outflanked Sullivan, who was stationed on the American right. The patriots fought bravely, but the right wing was broken and the battle was lost. One thousand of Washington's army were dead, wounded, or captured. The British lost less than 600.

The Americans retreated at once to Westchester, and then to Germantown, a few miles north of Philadelphia. In a few days Washington determined to venture another battle, and crossing the Schuylkill, met Howe at Warren's tavern, twenty miles below Philadelphia, where the armies skirmished. But before a battle ensued a fierce storm came up, which wet the cartridges and prevented fighting. Howe now proceeded down the river toward Philadelphia. Washington recrossed the stream to prevent his advance. Now, by a feint in the opposite direction, the American army was drawn away. Howe crossed the river and entered Philadelphia on September 26th, and the main body of his army was stationed at Germantown. General Wayne, meanwhile, had been surprised at Paoli and had lost 300 men.

Congress had already adjourned to Lancaster. Meeting at that place on the day after Howe's entrance into the capital, they adjourned once more, this time to York, where they remained till the British left Philadelphia the next year.

Washington had encamped at Skippack Creek. Finding the enemy weakened at Germantown by reason of detachments sent to reduce Forts Mercer and Mifflin, he attacked them. On the night of October 3d he advanced in four divisions and the next morning fell upon their camp. But by reason of rough roads and fog the attacks were not made si-

multaneously, and some of the American commanders did not handle their troops effectively. For a while, indeed, the patriots seemed successful, but at last they were driven back with a loss of 152 killed, 521 wounded, and 400 missing. The British lost 535 men.

The British now determined to obtain possession of the Delaware River. Fort Mercer was situated in New Jersey seven miles below Philadelphia. Fort Mifflin was built on an island opposite. The British attack on the former was repulsed. Fort Mifflin was also gallantly defended at the first assault and for a siege of over three weeks. By that time the cannon and the defenses were ruined and the garrison escaped to Fort Mercer. Cornwallis came with reenforcements to attack this post, and the garrison was obliged to abandon it on November 20th, thus throwing the Delaware open to the British.

Washington meanwhile had encamped at Whitemarsh, twelve miles from Philadelphia. Howe, knowing that the Americans were suffering from lack of food and clothing, determined to surprise them. But his scheme was revealed to Washington by a patriot woman, Lydia Darrah, at whose house the plan had been formed by the British council of war. He was obliged to return to Philadelphia.

The British passed the winter in the city, reveling in excellent quarters and with every comfort. Washington led his army into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, his soldiers as they marched, many of them shoeless, tracking the frozen ground with bloody foot-prints. Rude cabins were built for their shelter and the natural strength of the position was increased by intrenchments.

So closed the year. The battle of Princeton had resulted in the evacuation of New Jersey by the British and a brilliant success had been gained over

Burgoyne. But Washington was reproached for a failure in the latter half of the year to equal the achievements of the northern army. Afterward the difficulties he had to contend with in opposing a force superior to his own in numbers, discipline, and equipments were better appreciated, and it was seen that by the delay he occasioned Howe in reaching Philadelphia he had prevented the sending of re-enforcements to Burgoyne and consequently had made possible the victory in the north. But at the time this was not seen with such clearness. Many of the patriots had lost their confidence in the commander. Intrigues were even on foot to put Gates or Lee in his place. But the clouds finally blew over and Washington stood forth grander than ever.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

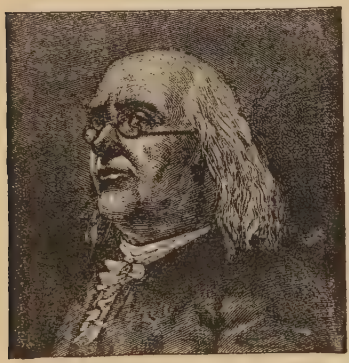
THE REVOLUTION—1778.

Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee—Sketch of Franklin—Alliance with France—Great Britain offers concessions—Philadelphia evacuated—D'Estaing—The battle of Monmouth—Lee's insubordination loses the day—His punishment—Operations near Newport—The war in the south—Savannah captured by the British—The Wyoming and Cherry valley massacres—Operations beyond the Alleghanies.

Even before the colonies had declared themselves independent states, measures had been taken to secure the co-operation of France in their struggle, and Silas Deane had been sent as commissioner to that country. Louis XVI. and his ministers were inclined to favor the American colonies, and notwithstanding the opposition of English agents, considerable quantities of arms and ammunition were sent across the ocean in 1777. In the latter part of 1776 Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee were selected by Congress to arrange a treaty with France, and they proceeded at once to Paris.

Franklin was over seventy years of age. From a candle-maker in his father's shop and an apprenticeship in printing with his brother he had risen to be a writer, a philosopher, and a man of science. In the latter direction he is best known from his experiment with the kite, by which he showed that lightning was nothing but electricity. He was devoted to the patriot cause, and his wisdom, courtesy, and talents procured him attention and reflected favorably on his country.

But at first the French government hesitated to commit itself to an alliance with the American colonies. That meant war with England. At last, however, came the news of Burgoyne's surrender. The colonies had shown their strength, and to lend aid to them would result in a great gain to French trade. The mission of Franklin and Lee was successful. A treaty of commerce and alliance was drawn up, acknowledging the independence of the United States and promising mutual support. Congress ratified the treaty on May 4, 1778, and the people hailed it with thanksgiving.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

A French fleet had already been dispatched to our shores. England was alarmed. Lord North, the prime minister, secured the passage of Parliamentary bills by which everything but independence was conceded to the colonists, and commissioners were sent to this country. But Great Britain had come to her senses too late. Congress refused to treat with the commissioners on any other basis than that of independence.

The British army was still at Philadelphia and Admiral Howe with his fleet in the Delaware when news came that a French squadron under Count d'Estaing was approaching. Howe sailed for New York, and on June 18th the British withdrew from Philadelphia and marched across New Jersey. Washington at once followed and overtook them at Monmouth. On June 28th an attack was ordered, and General Charles Lee

was appointed to execute the command. But he had opposed this plan and failed to act with zeal and promptness. His men were driven back and only rallied by the arrival of Washington, who rebuked Lee and ordered him to the rear. The battle continued, but night fell without the marked success which Lee's insubordination had alone prevented. However, Clinton retired in the night, leaving more than 400 of his dead and wounded behind, and 800 of his soldiers deserted before he reached New York. The Americans lost 229 in killed and wounded.

Lee was court-martialed for his disobedience, his lack of zeal in the battle, and his want of respect for Washington, and Congress confirmed the sentence of a year's suspension from his command. For further offenses he was afterward dismissed from the service, and before he died he came to wish for the defeat of his country, in whose behalf he never fought again.

Washington followed the British to New York and took up his position at White Plains. D'Estaing arrived with his fleet, but being unable to secure pilots, his large ships could not enter the harbor. He then sailed for Newport, where he was to co-operate with the American forces under Sullivan in an attack on the British. Howe followed with his fleet, which had been re-enforced, and d'Estaing attempted to draw him into action, but a fierce storm arose and shattered both fleets. D'Estaing retired to Boston and Howe to New York.

Meanwhile, on August 9th, Sullivan had crossed to Rhode Island and laid siege to Newport, but on d'Estaing's departure he was forced to withdraw. In the upper part of the island he was overtaken by the British under Pigot, but succeeded in repulsing them, and on the night of August 30th he reached the mainland in safety. The next day Clinton arrived at Newport with British re-enforcements. He sent out a de-

tachment to destroy stores at New Bedford and what shipping they could find in the neighborhood, and then returned to New York.

In November d'Estaing sailed for the West Indies, and in the last month of the year Admiral Byron, who had succeeded Admiral Howe, left New York to carry on the warfare in the region of those islands. The war on land was now beginning to be waged in the south. On December 29th, 3,000 British troops, under Colonel Campbell, reached Savannah. General Robert Howe, who commanded the Americans, determined to risk a battle. His forces numbered hardly a third as many as the enemy, but he relied on his knowledge of the ground. He was defeated, however, and the British gained Savannah.

During this year there were various depredations committed by marauding expeditions. In July Major Butler raised a force of tories, Canadians, and Indians and entered the valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, through which flows the Susquehanna. A few militia, with the aged and the young inhabitants of the valley, hardly more than 300 in number, opposed him, but were cut to pieces with the loss of 225 men. They fled, with the women and children, to a fort. Butler promised honorable terms for their surrender, and hopeless of a successful defense, the fugitives capitulated, and most of them escaped across the mountains. But the cruel Senecas scoured the neighborhood, burned their homes, and took many more scalps.

In October a party of British, led by Ferguson, burned the American shipping in Little Egg Harbor and ravaged the country inland. In November Cherry Valley, in western New York, was attacked by British, tories, and Indians, under Walter Butler, the son of the Butler who acquired such ill-fame in the Wyoming massacre, and Joseph Brant, chief of the

Mohawks. More than thirty of the inhabitants of the valley, mostly women and children, were murdered. The patriots took revenge for these atrocities by an expedition against the Indians on the upper part of the Susquehanna. In the early part of the year Major Clarke had been sent west of the Alleghanies, and he succeeded in capturing Kaskaskia from the British in July, and later on Vincennes also. The latter post was afterward retaken by the enemy, but in the next year again came into the possession of the Americans.

This year was marked chiefly by the alliance with France. American arms, also, had gained more success than the British in the battle of Monmouth, and the enemy had been forced to evacuate Philadelphia and retreat to New York, and thereafter Clinton could do little more than send out marauding expeditions. The year, in the main, was favorable to the patriot cause. At its close the British were almost confined to New York, Newport, and Savannah.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REVOLUTION—1779.

The war in the south—Augusta captured by the British—Recaptured by the Americans—Lincoln succeeds Robert Howe—Americans defeated at Brier Creek—Charleston besieged—The British raise the siege—Americans repulsed at Stono Ferry—D'Estaing and Lincoln besiege Savannah—Their failure—Operations in the north—Tryon's Connecticut expeditions—Putnam at Horse Neck—Clinton captures Stony and Verplanck's points—Wayne recaptures the former—Paulus Hook and Penobscot Bay—Revenge for the Wyoming and Cherry valley massacres—Paul Jones—The *Bon Homme Richard* captures the *Serapis*.

The opening of 1779 saw the continuance of the war in the south, where the British were in the main successful. On January 9th General Prevost captured Sunbury, on St. Catherine's Sound, the only position occupied by the Americans south of Savannah. He then joined Campbell's forces and took command, sending that officer against Augusta. The city came into the possession of the British on January 29th, and Georgia was at their mercy.

But events were in progress which gave the city back to the Americans. The tories of Carolina who were marching to meet Campbell were twice defeated by the patriots. The second attack was made on them by Colonel Pickens and the Carolina militia, February 14th. The leader of the tories and forty of his men were killed, and a still larger number captured. Campbell was alarmed and retreated to Charleston, leaving Augusta and the western part of the state in the hands of the patriots.

General Lincoln had succeeded Robert Howe in command of the southern army. He sent a force of 1,500 men under Ashe to cut off the enemy. But at Brier Creek the Americans were surrounded by the British forces under Prevost, who had advanced from Savannah, and on March 3d were utterly routed. Only 450 rejoined Lincoln at Perrysburg. The remainder were killed or captured, or returned home. Prevost now proclaimed a British government in Georgia.

Within a short time, however, Lincoln raised several thousand men and marched up the Savannah River. Prevost crossed the stream and advanced to Charleston, of which, on May 12th, he demanded the surrender. General Moultrie, in command of the city, was too brave to yield to this demand, and refused to capitulate. At this juncture Prevost learned that Lincoln was approaching, and he retired. Lincoln pursued and was repulsed at Stono Ferry. Prevost then withdrew to Savannah, first establishing a post at Beaufort. His campaign in South Carolina had been a grand plundering expedition.

During the hot weather Lincoln, who was left with but 800 men, remained at Sheldon. Active operations were not resumed till the fall, when d'Estaing arrived with his fleet, on which great hopes were placed. The intention was that d'Estaing should co-operate with Lincoln in attacking Savannah. On the 12th of September 6,000 of the French landed. Lincoln had not arrived, but d'Estaing demanded a surrender, which Prevost refused. When Lincoln finally brought the Americans to the spot, a vigorous siege was commenced. But the severe bombardment failed to injure the fortifications materially. D'Estaing was anxious to get away from the coast before the storms of the autumn should burst upon his fleet. A conference was held and it was decided to attempt an assault.

On the morning of the 9th of October the French

and Americans advanced, but the various divisions failed to co-operate with the necessary precision, and after a fierce attack on the works the allied forces were driven back. The British suffered little injury. The French lost about 600 men and the Americans 200. Sergeant Jasper, of Fort Moultrie memory, and the brave Pulaski were mortally wounded. D'Estaing himself was wounded twice, though not fatally. He gathered his men on the ships and sailed for France, while Lincoln withdrew to Charleston.

Meanwhile military operations had been carried on at the north, but on a small scale. The patriot army had spent the winter at Middlebrook, in New Jersey. When the season opened the forces were somewhat disorganized. Food and clothing were scarce and Congress had little money at its command to supply these or pay the men. But respect for Washington and the cause prevented mutiny. The commander-in-chief was forced to declare that the affairs of the country had never been "at as low an ebb as at the present."

Tryon, the old governor of New York, and a tory, led the first expedition of the year in this quarter, aiming at the destruction of the salt-works at Horse Neck, Connecticut. General Putnam gathered the Americans, but the patriots were forced to fly before the superior forces of the enemy. Putnam himself only escaped by spurring his horse down the zigzag path of a steep incline. Tryon accomplished his purpose and retired to Kingsbridge. In July Tryon made another expedition, this time to New Haven, which he captured. The militia gathered and drove the British away before the town was set on fire, but East Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk were pillaged and burned. Meanwhile a force sent from New York had ravaged Virginia and given Norfolk and Portsmouth to the flames.

Toward the end of May Clinton had sailed up the Hudson with a detachment of troops. The Americans had not completed the works at Stony Point and withdrew before the British. Clinton made use

PUTNAM ESCAPES THE BRITISH.

of the position to bombard Verplanck's Point, across the river. Soon the British were ferried over the stream and forced the garrison of this post to surrender after a brave defense. Thus the lower part of the river was held by the British, and the American communication between New England and the rest of the country was cut off below the Highlands of the Hudson.

The recapture of Stony Point by the Americans

was determined on, and to General Wayne was intrusted the enterprise. He was brilliantly successful. The fort was garrisoned by 600 men, was strongly fortified and protected also by the vessels of war in the river. Wayne advanced against the post with 1,200 men. The countersign was learned from a negro, and after dark on the night of July 15th a sentinel was seized and gagged. The Americans advanced in two columns with fixed bayonets. Close to the works they were discovered, but they pressed on regardless of the musket-balls and grape-shot that rained upon them, stormed the works, and shortly after midnight were masters of the situation. They had lost but fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded, while the British lost in killed and wounded sixty-three, and the rest, 543, were made prisoners. Wayne removed the stores and cannon and razed the works. Congress presented him with a gold medal for this exploit. Stony Point was soon reoccupied by the British but they did not long remain there.

A few days after the Stony Point episode, Major Henry Lee surprised the British garrison at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, captured the post, and retired with 159 prisoners. But an expedition sent by Massachusetts against a British post on Penobscot Bay, where Castine is now situated, was not so successful. Nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports carried 1,000 men, who landed, only to find themselves too weak to assault the works. While they were waiting for re-enforcements a British fleet arrived, the American squadron was defeated, and the troops escaped through the woods. This was about the middle of August.

During the summer General Sullivan was put in command of 4,000 or 5,000 men to attack the Indians in revenge for the Wyoming and Cherry valley massacres. He succeeded admirably in the enterprise.

His forces and those led by General James Clinton and others ravaged the country of the savages between the Susquehanna and the Genesee. Their crops of maize and a score or more of their villages were destroyed, and the Senecas were taught a severe though necessary lesson.

In October Sir Henry Clinton withdrew from Newport at a rumor that a French fleet was approaching. He fled with such precipitancy that many guns and numerous stores were left behind.

The first important naval combat of the war occurred in this year. As early as 1775 Congress had commenced the establishment of a naval force. Fast privateers were sent out that within a few years had committed great depredations on British commerce. In the fall of 1779 Paul Jones was cruising off the coasts of England and Scotland with five French and American vessels. On September 23d, off Flamborough Head, he ran across a number of merchant vessels convoyed by two British men-of-war. One of these was the *Serapis*, of forty-four guns. Jones was in command of the *Bon Homme Richard* (named after the "Poor Richard" of Franklin's almanac), which mounted but forty guns, many of them unserviceable. These two vessels engaged in a fierce duel, which commenced after sunset and lasted for two hours or more. For a while they fought at short range, and then the *Richard* closed with her antagonist. At close quarters the crews of both vessels fought with desperation, and there were times when both were ablaze. Finally the *Serapis* struck her colors. The next day Jones had barely time to transfer his men to the captured vessel when the *Richard* sunk. The companion of the *Serapis*, the *Countess of Scarborough*, was captured by the French frigate, the *Pallas*, but the remaining vessels took little or no part in the action.

During this year the campaign in the south had been for the most part unfavorable to the cause of independence, but northern operations had been favored with greater success. Especially noteworthy was Wayne's capture of Stony Point. Paul Jones' victory on the ocean stirred the patriot hearts with pride. But Congress was in great financial distress, and the army necessarily suffered. Great Britain, on the other hand, was putting forth renewed efforts for the next year.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REVOLUTION—1780.

The south is the theater of war—The siege of Charleston—Lincoln surrenders the city—Minor engagements—Tarleton's cruelty—Sumter, Marion, and Pickens—Hardships of the American army—Gates succeeds Lincoln—Is defeated at Sander's Creek—Greene given the command in the south—The British defeated at King's Mountain—Benedict Arnold—His treasonable negotiations with André—The latter is captured and executed—The profits of Arnold's treason—Financial condition of the colonies—Robert Morris—War between Holland and Great Britain.

The war was confined during this year almost entirely to the south, and was disastrous to the Americans. In the early part of February Admiral Arbuthnot appeared before Charleston with a British fleet which bore Sir Henry Clinton and 5,000 men from New York. Charleston was garrisoned by 1,400 men, under General Lincoln. The British landed and spent several weeks in slow advances toward the American works. On the 7th of April the small body of patriots was increased by 700 Virginians, but the British fleet succeeded in passing Fort Moultrie and Lincoln was called on to surrender. At the entreaty of the inhabitants he declined to capitulate.

The siege was now begun in earnest. Lincoln, to keep open his communications toward the north, had sent General Huger with 300 men to raise the militia north of the Cooper River; but this force was surprised and dispersed by British cavalry under Tarleton, at Monk's Corner. And again the same British

officer defeated an American force on the Santee. Meanwhile the bombardment of Charleston had reduced the fortifications. Clinton had been re-enforced, and there was left no hope of saving the city. The retreat of the Americans was cut off. Finally Lincoln capitulated on the 12th of May. The continental soldiers and sailors became prisoners of war, the militia and the inhabitants of the city were paroled, and Charleston passed into the hands of the British and Hessians, who divided the spoils of war to the amount of £300,000.

South Carolina was now overrun by the British. One expedition captured Fort Ninety-Six, in the western part of the state, and another marched up the Savannah. Cornwallis, with the main body of the enemy, proceeded northward, crossed the Santee, and captured Georgetown. Tarleton fell on a retreating body of the Americans at Waxhaw Creek, a tributary of the Catawba, and though they sued for quarter, killed 113 and mangled 150 so frightfully that they could not be moved.

Clinton, considering that South Carolina had been conquered, sailed for New York with about half his army, leaving Cornwallis in command of the rest. The conflict now assumed a peculiar character, caused by the broken country and the division of the inhabitants. No one could be neutral. The tories fell on their patriot neighbors and were attacked in turn by these. Small bodies of armed men scoured the country. Tarleton, with his cavalry, and Ferguson, with his riflemen, ravaged in every direction. On the American side Thomas Sumter, called the "Carolina Gamecock," Francis Marion, known as the "Bayard of the South," and Pickens, fell upon the British unawares at every opportunity, and disappeared as suddenly as they had come. One of these engagements occurred at Hanging Rock, where the British and

tories were defeated by Sumter. It was here that a future President of the United States, Andrew Jackson by name, took part in his first battle, while still a boy

It is narrated that on one occasion a British officer who had been sent on some business to Marion was invited to dinner. He expressed surprise at the meager meal which was presented—roasted potatoes served on pieces of bark. "Surely, General, this cannot be your ordinary fare," he said. He was assured that it was the common repast of the patriots, only more abundant than usual in his honor. Struck by the patriotism of men who continued to fight under the disadvantages indicated by this incident, he resigned his commission in the British army.

The command of the southern army had been transferred to General Gates after the capitulation of Charleston. He marched with a considerable force of regulars and militia across North Carolina, and on the 13th of August was at Clermont, in the upper part of South Carolina. The British had been concentrated at Camden, thirteen miles to the southeast, and Cornwallis had arrived there with re-enforcements. Strangely enough, the generals of each of the opposing armies had planned a surprise on the other for the same night. The advance-guards met early in the morning of the 16th at Sander's Creek, and after a skirmish the battle was delayed till daylight. At the first charge the Virginians, not accustomed to use the bayonets which they had received only the day before, fled in confusion. The North Carolina troops followed their example, but the divisions from Maryland and Delaware stood firm for a while. De Kalb, in command of the latter, fought fiercely till he was wounded eleven times and mortally. Others of the patriot officers showed great bravery, but the Americans were finally defeated. The British lost

500 men. The American loss was large, but is not exactly known. Their cannon and baggage were left behind and almost every corps was dispersed. Gates had early disappeared from the scene of battle and fled to Charlotte, North Carolina, where the wreck of the army followed him. The boasts he had made of conquering Cornwallis as he had conquered Burgoyne had not been fulfilled, and he was superseded by General Greene, one of the ablest generals of the Revolution, whom Washington had originally wished to succeed Lincoln.

South Carolina was once more at the mercy of the British. A few days after this battle near Camden, Tarleton routed Sumter's force at Fishing Creek, thirty miles to the northwest of that place. The British advanced to Charlotte and the Americans retired to Salisbury. Meanwhile Ferguson had been sent into the region west of the Catawba River with a force of British and tories. On October 7th he was attacked on the top of King's Mountain by Colonel Campbell with 1,000 American riflemen. After a fierce struggle the British surrendered. Four hundred and fifty-six had been killed or severely wounded, and almost all the remainder, 648 men, were made prisoners. On the American side, notwithstanding the disadvantage of being obliged to charge up a steep ascent, only twenty-eight were killed and sixty wounded. With the battle of King's Mountain the campaign of the year closed in the south.

This year was marked by treason as well as by disaster. Benedict Arnold was a brave man, whose gallantry at Quebec and Bemis' Heights was beyond question, and he had been wounded in each of these engagements. For his share in the latter battle he was made a major-general, and as his wound prevented active service, he was made commandant of Philadelphia. He married the daughter of a tory and en-

tered on a career of extravagance that soon led him to defraud the government. Charges being preferred against him he was sentenced by a court-martial to be reprimanded by Washington, who administered the rebuke as mildly as possible. But Arnold's proud spirit could not brook censure, and he was already inclined to the royal side, and had been taken into the pay of Clinton, who, failing to conquer the patriots by arms, had come to try corruption.

Arnold asked to be given the command of the important post of West Point, with its large magazines of ammunition. His request was granted, and on July 31st he assumed charge of the fort, which he had already planned to turn over to the British. Clinton sent Major André up the river in the sloop of war *Vulture* to complete the treasonable arrangements with Arnold. André landed and met the traitor, who had come down the river for the purpose, near Haverstraw, on the night of September 21st. Arnold conducted the British officer within the American lines to the house of a tory, where the plot was consummated. In return for the aid that Arnold promised to Clinton in capturing West Point, he was to receive a large sum of money and the rank of brigadier in the British army.

The conference had taken some hours, and meanwhile the *Vulture* had been forced by the fire of an American battery to change its anchorage. André disguised himself, and, provided with a pass from Arnold, crossed the Hudson and proceeded toward New York by land. About noon on the 23d he was stopped by three militiamen, who searched him and found plans of West Point and a list of its garrison, stores, and cannon, in Arnold's handwriting. He was detained and turned over to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who commanded at North Castle.

That officer, by a blunder or worse, allowed Arnold to hear of André's capture, and the traitor at once

escaped to the *Vulture*. André was tried by a court-martial, and on his own confession sentenced to be hanged as a spy. The sentence was executed at Tappan on October 2d, and André met his death like a brave man. Arnold received between £6,000 and £7,000 and his promised commission of brigadier. After remaining on American shores for a while to ravage the homes of his countrymen he went to England and sunk into obscurity and poverty, in which he died.

There was little of active campaigning in the north in 1780, beyond two unsuccessful attempts of Knyphausen (who had been left in command at New York while Clinton was at the south) to invade New Jersey. In July a French fleet and 6,000 soldiers, under Admiral De Ternay and Count Rochambeau, arrived at Newport, and Washington arranged plans with them for future action.

Congress meanwhile could do little for the army. It had resorted to the issue of paper money, and $200,000,000 were created on paper. But without silver or gold to back it the bills sunk in value, till at the beginning of this year they were not worth two and a half cents on the dollar. But Robert Morris and other rich Americans patriotically aided the cause with their wealth, and many a noble-hearted woman sent food and clothing to the soldiers and molded bullets with her own hands. One thing occurred toward the end of the year, however, which raised the hopes of the country. Holland had for some time shown favor to the American cause and had many causes of grievance against England. Now war broke out been these countries and the cares of Great Britain were increased.

The treason of Arnold in the north and the capture of Charleston in the south had both been heavy blows to the patriot cause, and the disastrous events of the year had cast a gloom over the country.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION—1781–1783.

Mutiny in the American army—Its salutary effect—The Bank of North America—Unsuccessful attempt to capture Arnold—His expeditions to Virginia and Connecticut—The massacre at Fort Griswold—The war in the south—The British defeated at the Cowpens—Greene's retreat to Virginia—Is re-enforced—The battle of Guilford's Court-House—Hobkirk's Hill—The Americans unsuccessfully besiege Fort Ninety-Six—The execution of Isaac Hayne—The battle of Eutaw Springs—The British confined to Savannah and Charleston—Greene's successes—Cornwallis in Virginia—Unsuccessfully attacked by Wayne—Yorktown fortified—Washington moves southward—Admiral De Grasse drives off the English fleet under Graves—Washington and Lafayette besiege Yorktown—Cornwallis surrenders—French assistance in the struggle—Effect of the victory at home and abroad—The war over—The treaty of Paris—Its provisions—Independence secured—New York evacuated by the British—The Society of the Cincinnati founded—Washington bids farewell to his officers—And resigns his commission.

The year 1781 opened with no brighter prospects. On its very first day the Pennsylvania troops, most of whom were newly arrived Irish immigrants, mutinied and marched toward Philadelphia to demand of Congress food, clothing, and their pay, which was due for nearly a year. General Wayne attempted in vain to restrain them. They insisted on proceeding, but asserted they were not traitors. This statement they soon proved by giving up to be hung as spies the emissaries whom Clinton had sent among them with tempting promises, and they refused the reward

which was offered them for this action. Their demands were finally met by concessions, and those who claimed to have ended their terms of enlistment were discharged.

The New Jersey troops, also embracing a large foreign-born element, encouraged by the success of this revolt, showed signs of mutiny. But Washington at once sent against them some New England regiments of native Americans and they were subdued. The mutineers were compelled to assist in the execution of two of their leaders.

The effect of these risings was salutary. Congress exerted itself with greater energy to support the army, and an agent was sent to France to procure a loan. Robert Morris and his friends pledged their own fortunes for the credit of the government. Morris was appointed financial agent. The Bank of North America, incorporated by Congress on December 31, 1781, was established in January of 1782. But the great difficulty was that Congress had no power of compulsion over the separate states. It could advise and pass laws, but each state was free to adopt or reject these as they chose.

Washington desired to capture the traitor Arnold, and a clever plan was formed to accomplish that result. John Champe escaped, as a pretended deserter, to the British, and with two confederates arranged to seize and gag Arnold and bring him to the American camp. But when success was at hand Arnold suddenly changed his quarters and the scheme failed. Champe afterward returned to the patriot army and was relieved of the odium of being considered a deserter.

This happened in the preceding year, and in December Arnold sailed with 1,600 men to Virginia. He entered the James River in January, devastated the country, and destroyed considerable public and

private property. A French fleet was sent to co-operate with Lafayette, who was in the neighborhood. But the English fleet drove back the French squadron, and Lafayette had too small a force to accomplish much alone. General Phillips now arrived with British re-enforcements, and the country was further ravaged. Finally Phillips died, and a few days later Cornwallis arrived from North Carolina and sent Arnold back to New York in May.

In September Arnold led an expedition against Connecticut, his native state. He seized New London and carried by storm Fort Griswold, which was defended by 150 men, under Colonel Ledyard. When Ledyard surrendered his sword to a British officer it was plunged into his own body. Seventy-three of the garrison were slain, about thirty wounded, and the rest captured. Happily this ferocious deed ended the career of Arnold against his own countrymen.

In the meantime the south had been the theater of war. Cornwallis was at Camden, South Carolina, and Greene, at Charlotte, North Carolina, had reorganized his forces General Morgan was sent into South Carolina, and Cornwallis detached Tarleton, with his cavalry, to oppose him The latter attacked Morgan at the Cowpens on January 17th. At the height of the battle Colonel William Washington made a furious charge with the American cavalry and drove everything before him. The Americans lost but twelve killed and sixty wounded. Of the British, more than 100 were killed, 200 wounded, and over 500, with two field-pieces and 800 muskets, were captured.

Cornwallis marched to attack Morgan, who fell back across the Catawba, on January 23d Greene joined him, took command, and continued the retreat before the superior forces of Cornwallis, ordering the eastern division of his army to meet him at

Guilford Court-House. Cornwallis was delayed for some days by heavy rains, which swelled the Catawba. He finally succeeded in crossing the stream on the 1st of February, after overcoming with some loss a small force which opposed him.

Now began a race for the Yadkin, sixty miles away. The Americans reached the stream first and crossed in safety. The British were close behind, but before they could cross a heavy rain once more favored the patriots. Cornwallis lost two days in ascending the river to a spot where he could pass over, which he succeeded in doing on the 7th. The same day the two divisions of the American army united at Guilford Court-House, but were still too few to offer battle. They therefore continued the retreat to the Dan, which they crossed on the 14th of February. The advance-guard of the British came in sight just as the last of the Americans were passing over. Greene had conducted a masterly retreat and was safe in Virginia; Cornwallis pursued him no further.

After a few days Greene's men were rested from their forced march and fresh recruits joined the patriot standard. On the 22d of February Greene recrossed the Dan. He avoided a conflict with Cornwallis, but Colonel Lee was sent into the country beyond the Haw River, whither Tarleton had been also dispatched. He missed Tarleton, but fell in with 300 tories who were marching to join the British, and cut the force to pieces.

Greene was now re-enforced so that he commanded about 4,000 men, and he took position at Guilford Court-House. There he was attacked by Cornwallis on March 15th with a force smaller than his own but better disciplined. A stubborn battle was fought. The new recruits of the Americans broke and the patriots retired from the field. Their loss was smaller than the British, but many of the militia returned

to their homes, leaving Greene with less than 3,000 men. But the British had been checked, and soon they held in North Carolina only Wilmington.

Cornwallis now proceeded to Petersburg, Virginia, where he found Arnold and sent him north, as we have already seen. He left the army in the Carolinas under the command of Lord Rawdon, at Camden. Greene determined to carry the war into South Carolina. He took a strong position at Hobkirk's Hill, a mile and a half north of Camden. There, on the 25th of April, he was attacked by Rawdon. The Americans were almost surprised, but Greene handled his troops admirably, and success seemed probable; but some of the American leaders were killed and their troops wavered. The British seized the opportunity, gained the summit of the hill, and drove the patriots back. Greene, however, lost no more than the British (about 300 men), and he saved his cannon and kept his force together.

In about a fortnight Rawdon evacuated Camden and withdrew to Eutaw Springs, which, with Charleston and Fort Ninety-Six, were all that were left to the British in the early part of June. Several posts, including Augusta, had been captured by the Americans. Ninety-Six had been besieged by Greene after the battle of Hobkirk's Hill; but after a siege of about four weeks, and when the garrison would have been forced shortly to capitulate, Rawdon approached and Greene was forced to withdraw on June 19th, after an unsuccessful attempt to carry the works by storm. The post was abandoned and the British retired to Orangeburg. Rawdon's position was too strong to be assaulted, and Greene ordered the main part of his army to the high hills of Santee for the hot season.

During the summer various bands of the patriots, under Lee, Marion, and Sumter, scoured the country

and did much damage to the British. Morgan had been compelled, by rheumatism and fever, to cease his active and brilliant part in the war. Rawdon, leaving Colonel Stuart in command at Orangeburg, proceeded to Charleston, and afterward, pretending sickness, sailed for England, but was captured by the French on his way. But before he went he sanctioned the execution of Isaac Hayne, who, after the fall of Charleston, had obtained British protection, though he afterward led a regiment of American militia. This deed awakened the most bitter enmity to English rule among all humane and fair-minded persons.

In the latter part of August Greene left his position on the hills of the Santee and marched against Orangeburg. The British retired to Eutaw Springs, but Greene followed, and there, on the 8th of September, occurred one of the fiercest contests of the Revolution. At first the Americans were successful and routed the British, but in a second engagement, which occurred immediately, a rash attack on the enemy was made and the Americans were defeated. In the whole day the Americans lost 554 men. The British lost nearly 1,000, including about 500 prisoners.

Stuart retreated to Monk's Corner, and later on to Charleston. Wilmington was soon evacuated, and in all the country south of Virginia the British retained only Savannah and Charleston.

The first of these was evacuated July 11th and the latter December 14th of the next year. Greene had met with several defeats in battle, but by his genius in retrieving himself and his persistence in continuing the struggle with the forces at his disposal, he had, during his command of less than ten months, practically recovered the three southern states. From this time on we shall hear of no more British ravages in this quarter.

The final campaign of the Revolution was carried on in Virginia. Cornwallis, who arrived there and took command in the latter part of April, 1781, commenced operations by ravaging the country along the James and destroying much valuable public and private property. Tarleton was sent on a rapid sally to Charlottesville, where the Virginia assembly was in session, but he accomplished little more than the capture of seven members of the legislature. Lafayette, meanwhile, who commanded the troops for the defense of Virginia, was not strong enough to attack Cornwallis.

CORNWALLIS.

Clinton was fearful that the Americans meditated an attack on New York, and he ordered Cornwallis to take a strong position and to act on the defensive. The British commander in Virginia proceeded down the James till he came to Green Springs, near Jamestown. There he was attacked on the 6th of July by General Wayne, who was led to suppose, by false information, that the main body of the enemy had crossed the stream. Wayne soon discovered his mistake, and though he fought with bravery, would have been overwhelmed but for the timely arrival of reenforcements under Lafayette. The French general plunged into the thick of the battle at the peril of his life and saved the Americans from utter rout. Each side lost about 120 men.

Cornwallis now proceeded to Portsmouth, but orders from Clinton forced him against his judgment to transfer his army in the first week of August to

Yorktown. This small village, situated on the southern bank of the York River a few miles above its mouth, and Gloucester, on the opposite side of the stream, were fortified. Lafayette followed and took position about eight miles distant. He urged Washington to send re-enforcements, and foresaw the doom that threatened Cornwallis when the expected French fleet should arrive to complete his investment on the water side. Meanwhile Clinton had been led to believe, by letters written for the purpose of falling into his hands, that New York was to be attacked on the 2d of September. He at last realized that Washington was moving southward with Rochambeau and the allied forces of French and Americans.

In the meantime, on the 30th of August, De Grasse, with the French fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line bearing 4,000 soldiers, arrived from the West Indies and blockaded the York River. The English admiral, Graves, sailed from New York to break up the blockade, but his fleet was so roughly handled by De Grasse on the 5th of September that he was obliged to return whence he had come. De Barras had arrived from Newport by this time with eight more French ships of the line and ten transports carrying heavy guns for the siege.

On September 28th the siege of Yorktown was commenced in earnest by the allied forces, who outnumbered the British, under Washington and Rochambeau. Cornwallis withdrew his advanced posts, and Tarleton was hemmed in at Gloucester. The latter attempted a sally but was driven back. On the night of the 5th of October trenches were opened 600 yards from the works of Cornwallis. The Americans on the right and the French on the left worked with zeal. In three days the first parallel was completed, and a heavy cannonade was kept up on the fortifications of the enemy. On the night

of the 11th the second parallel was commenced. Two advanced redoubts were carried on the night of the

SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN.

14th by storm. Early in the morning of the 16th the British made a sally, but were driven back with-

out having accomplished anything of value to their side.

Cornwallis now felt the hopelessness of further resistance. He was opposed by a superior force and able generals. His escape was cut off on all sides, by land and by water. On the 17th he proposed to surrender. The next day the terms of capitulation were drawn up, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of October 19, 1781, Major-General O'Hara marched the British army into an open field, where they laid down their arms. Cornwallis remained in his tent.

The prisoners numbered 7,247 soldiers and 840 sailors. Two hundred and forty-four pieces of cannon, seventy-five of them brass, besides other accouterments and stores, also fell into the hands of the allied forces. It was a glorious victory for the patriot cause, but it must not be forgotten how much France had aided in the siege. Nine thousand of the troops were Americans, but France furnished 7,000, besides thirty-six ships of the line.

The surrender was felt to be virtually the close of the war, and was everywhere received with the profoundest emotions of joy and exultation. When the news reached Philadelphia the city was illuminated, and Congress marched in a body to the Dutch Lutheran church to give thanks. France and the continental nations of Europe rejoiced at the victory.

In England the king and the ministry heard the news with bitter disappointment. But the people were glad at the prospect of the cessation of war. Finally, on March 20, 1782, Lord North announced the resignation of himself and his colleagues in the ministry. The new ministry sent Sir Guy Carleton, who looked kindly on America, to take Clinton's place in command of the British forces.

After the surrender of Cornwallis Washington returned to his old positions in the neighborhood of

New York, Wayne was sent to re-enforce Greene, Rochambeau remained with the French in Virginia, and De Grasse returned to the West Indies. But the war was over, and no engagement of importance again occurred.

Negotiations for peace were commenced in the summer of 1782; Oswald, Fitzherbert, and Strachey, on the part of Great Britain, and Franklin, Jay, John Adams, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States, agreed to the preliminaries on November 30th. In April of the next year Congress ratified the settlement. But England had been at war with France, Holland, and Spain as well as with the United States, and it was not until September 3, 1783, that commissioners from all these nations signed the final treaty at Paris.

By this treaty Great Britain ceded Florida to Spain and retained Canada and Nova Scotia. The rest of the territory east of the Mississippi was given up to the United States, with the right of free navigation of the great lakes and the Mississippi, and with equal rights on the Newfoundland fishing-grounds. More than all, the United States secured a complete recognition of the independence for which they had fought with such persistence, with such loss of life, and with such suffering.

Sir Guy Carleton was still at New York, the last post the British held. But he had already received orders to embark his army and leave the city. The evacuation took place on November 25, 1783. In the same year the officers of the American army formed the Society of the Cincinnati, to be continued forever by their eldest male descendants. One of its chief objects was to cherish and uphold the Union, and it is still in existence.

Immediately on the evacuation of New York by the British the American forces entered the city. There, on

the 4th of December, 1783, Washington bid an affectionate farewell to his officers. He then proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, received everywhere with enthusiasm as he advanced, and on the 23d of December resigned his commission as commander-in chief. He refused to receive any compensation beyond his actual expenses, and retired to his home at Mount Vernon. The war was over—independence was won.

CHAPTER XL.

FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Limited powers of Congress—The Articles of Confederation—The constitutional convention—The Constitution submitted to the states—The Northwestern Territory—"Shay's Rebellion"—Political parties—The *Federalist*—Ratification of the Constitution—The first election—Washington and Adams chosen—Washington journeys to New York—Close of the Revolutionary period.

The United States were now a separate nation, and the task lay before them of forming a liberal yet strong government. Congress at first was merely a consulting and advisory body, but it gradually acquired somewhat more power by a sort of general consent. A still stronger bond of union, however, was soon found to be necessary. As early as 1775 Benjamin Franklin had proposed a plan of confederation, but his measure received little consideration amid the excitement of the early days of the Revolution.

But in June, 1776, Congress itself appointed a committee to prepare a scheme with the same object in view. It was not, however, until November 15, 1777, that this body adopted the Articles of Confederation reported by the committee. The various states made suggestions of one sort and another, and in its amended form the agreement was signed by the representatives of eight states in July, 1778, but it was March, 1781, before Maryland, the last state, ratified it and the confederation went into effect.

But the new Congress had in reality little more power than the old one. Each state retained its separate sovereignty and every power not expressly delegated to Congress. That body was given the right to make treaties, but it could not enforce them on any of the states. It was to defray expenses for the common defense out of a common treasury, but the separate states had to vote the money before the treasury could be more than a name, and many of the states furnished little money or none at all. The troops could not be paid and confusion reigned in financial matters.

It was soon seen that such a loose confederation would never do. Washington was one of the first to perceive this. In September, 1786, at the invitation of Virginia, representatives from several of the states met at Annapolis and recommended that Congress issue a call for a convention of all the states to settle on some means of increasing the power of the national government. The constitutional convention, approved by Congress, assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1787, all the states being represented except Rhode Island. George Washington was unanimously chosen President. After spending over three months in debating carefully and arranging amicably their differences of opinion, a committee was appointed to prepare a final draft of the results of their deliberations. Their work was well done. In September, 1787, the Constitution of the United States, written by the pen of Gouverneur Morris, was submitted to the convention and adopted. It contained a provision that the Constitution should go into effect when nine states had ratified it.

Meanwhile Congress was sitting in New York. Only eight states were represented in the body and it was in a feeble condition, but it passed one important measure. The extensive territory northwest

of the Ohio River was claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia, under their charters as colonies. But they ceded their claims to the United States, and on the 13th of July, 1787, an ordinance was passed for the government of the Northwestern Territory, as it was called. General St. Clair, president of the Congress, was appointed military governor. Slavery was prohibited in this region, and provision was made for the formation of new states as the population increased. The five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin now spread over the region once called the Northwestern Territory.

During the winter of 1786–87 what is known as "Shay's Rebellion" broke out in Massachusetts, occasioned by discontent with harsh laws. The courts were interfered with and the national armory at Springfield threatened, but the insurrection was finally put down by an armed force.

As the question of the adoption of the Constitution began to be discussed throughout the country the first two great political parties of the nation arose. The one thought that too much power was given to the central government. This was the republican party, known also as the Democrat, or anti-Federalist party. Its leaders were able men, such as Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Elbridge Gerry. The other was the Federalist party. They argued for the adoption of the Constitution which the convention had prepared. Washington, Jay, Madison, and Alexander Hamilton were the most prominent advocates of this action, and the last three wrote a series of powerful papers, called the *Federalist*, to uphold their position.

The provisions of the Constitution can best be learned by a reference to the document itself. It met with the approval of the people. One by one the states ratified it. Delaware, on December 6, 1787,

was the first to give her assent. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, and South Carolina followed. On the 21st of June, 1788, the ninth state, New Hampshire, voted for the adoption of the Constitution, and the question was settled. Virginia and New York, after some hesitation, followed the example of their sister states before the end of the next month. North Carolina and Rhode Island held aloof until the new government was in operation, but the former finally ratified the Constitution in November, 1789, and the latter in May, 1790.

The first election occurred on the first Wednesday of January, 1789. In April the votes of the electoral college were counted. New York failed to vote because a disagreement between the two branches of its legislature had prevented the settlement of the method of choosing electors. The unanimous votes of the other ten colonies, sixty-nine in number, were cast for George Washington as President. John Adams received thirty-four votes for Vice-President, which, being the greatest number cast fo any one candidate, were, as the Constitution at that time provided, sufficient for his election.

About the middle of April Washington left for New York, the first capital of the United States. His journey was a triumphal procession. Vast throngs of people crowded to see him. The militia escorted him. At Trenton a triumphal arch was erected and young girls clad in white preceded him, singing and strewing his path with flowers. At Elizabeth Point he embarked in a thirteen-oared barge with thirteen pilots, emblematic of the number of the states. At New York he was received by the two houses of Congress, by the governor of the state, and the magistrates and people of the city

Here we close the account of the struggle for inde-

pendence and of the formation of the Constitution. The states had hardly recovered from the effects of the bitter conflict in which many of the patriots had lost their lives and others their fortunes. But their troubles and trials in the cause of freedom were at an end. Under one of the most perfectly devised governments that has ever been known, they entered on a period of wonderful development and prosperity, and to their history during this period we now turn.

Fourth Period.

Development and Prosperity.

FOURTH PERIOD.

DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY.

CHAPTER XLI.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION—1789–1798.

Inauguration of Washington—Official etiquette—National difficulties—Constitutional amendments—Cabinet officers—The President's tour through New England—Hamilton's financial measures—The Bank of the United States—The first census—Philadelphia becomes the capital—Vermont and Kentucky admitted to the Union—Indian troubles in the west—Harmar and St. Clair defeated—Wayne is successful—Washington and Adams re-elected—Relations with France—"Citizen" Genet—English arrogance—Jay's treaty—Quarrels of Jefferson and Hamilton—The "Whisky Rebellion"—Treaty with Spain—The pirates of Algiers—Washington declines a third election—Adams and Jefferson are elected.

George Washington, the first President of the United States, was inaugurated on April 30, 1789, at a little more than fifty-seven years of age. The oath of office was administered to him by Chancellor Livingston, of New York, at Federal Hall, where the subtreasury stands to-day. A magnificent bronze statue of Washington now graces the spot.

The manner of life of the chief magistrate of the country was a matter to which Washington gave no little thought. Considerable ceremony was advised on the one hand and none at all on the other. But

with his customary wisdom Washington chose a middle course, and while his office was surrounded with befitting etiquette and ceremony, he lived simply and assumed no arrogant position that could offend the equal citizens of a free country. Congress decided that the chief magistrate should be known only by the title of the President of the United States.

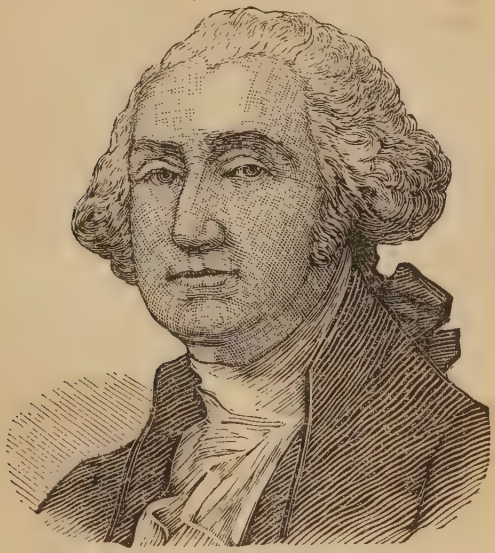
But difficulties of a graver kind threatened the success of the new government. The Indians of the west were still committing depredations on the pioneers. The Spaniards at New Orleans hindered the free passage of American ships in the great water-way of the Mississippi. More than all, the United States and its several members had large debts and little or no credit.

Congress had been organized on the 4th of March. Before its first session was ended it framed and submitted to the several states a number of amendments to the Constitution, ten of which were ratified by the requisite number of states by December, 1791. The first Congress also created by law three cabinet officers as advisers of the President. According to the provisions of the Constitution, Washington nominated and the Senate confirmed Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of Foreign Affairs (afterward known as Secretary of State), Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, and Henry Knox as Secretary of War. The office of Attorney-General, not at that time included in the Cabinet, was filled by Edmund Randolph. John Jay was appointed the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

In the fall of 1789 Washington made a tour of New England. Starting from New York he proceeded to Boston and Portsmouth, returning by way of Hartford. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm.

The success of the early financial measures was largely due to the genius of Alexander Hamilton, by

whose energy wise plans were adopted. He proposed that the United States should assume the payment of the debts incurred by the individual states in carrying on the Revolutionary War. These, with the national debt, amounted to $75,000,000. Duties were



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

levied on imported articles and a tonnage-tax on merchant ships, American vessels being less taxed than foreign ones. By these measures the credit of the country rose and the ship-building industry was encouraged. In the early part of 1791 another plan which Hamilton advocated was adopted, despite the strong opposition of Jefferson and the Republican party, and Congress established the Bank of the

United States. The charter was for a period of twenty years, and the bank was situated at Philadelphia, with branches in other places.

The first census of the United States, taken in the year 1790, showed the population of the country to be 3,929,000. In the same year the seat of government was transferred to Philadelphia, and it was agreed that in 1800 a suitable location should be chosen on the Potomac for the capital of the country. On March 4, 1791, Vermont, the fourteenth state, was admitted into the Union. As early as 1777 the inhabitants of Vermont had organized a government despite the protests and interference of New York, which claimed the territory and jurisdiction, but in 1790 these claims were purchased for $30,000. In 1792, on the 1st of June, Kentucky became the fifteenth state, Virginia having given up her claim to the territory. The name of Daniel Boone will ever be remembered as that of the leading pioneer in this region. In 1790 the "Territory south of the Ohio" was organized.

Meanwhile there was trouble in the west with the Indians. In the fall of 1790 General Harmar was sent against them. Setting out from Fort Washington, the capital of the Northwestern Territory, he was at first successful. But in October a part of his force was defeated near Fort Wayne, and shortly after others were routed at the Maumee Ford. Harmar was obliged to retreat. In September of the next year General St. Clair commenced another campaign against the Miami confederacy with 2,000 men. He had been urgently warned by Washington to beware of a surprise, yet when a superior force of Indians assailed him on November 4th, in Mercer County, Ohio, he was off his guard. Half of his force was cut to pieces, and St. Clair resigned his commission, though exonerated by a congressional committee. General Wayne, called "Mad Anthony Wayne" because of his

courage that bordered on rashness, was appointed in his place.

Two years later Wayne proceeded with 3,000 men to the scene of St. Clair's misfortune, and built Fort Recovery. In Williams County, Ohio, he constructed Fort Defiance. The next summer, the Indians having rejected his proposals of peace he marched against them. On the 20th of August, 1794, he completely routed them at Waynesfield and forced them to relinquish their claims to the southern and eastern parts of Ohio.

In the meantime the second national election had occurred in the fall of 1792 and Washington and Adams were re-elected, commencing their second term of office on March 4, 1793. And now foreign complications loomed up on the horizon and soon grew to threatening proportions. The French Revolution, commencing in the same year that Washington was first inaugurated, had run a course of violence and excess that culminated in the execution of the king in 1793. A republican form of government had already been established, and war followed with various nations, among which was England. The French government sent as a representative to the United States "Citizen" Genet. He demanded an alliance with the United States against Great Britain, but Washington had already issued his famous proclamation of non-interference with European quarrels, and persisted in adhering to the opinions therein advanced. He was supported by Hamilton and the Federal party, but the Republicans were anxious for a war, to aid France and to inflict injuries on England. Relying on their support, Genet even threatened to appeal to the people against Washington, and he had already fitted out privateers to prey on English commerce. But the President was firm and demanded Genet's recall; and his demand was heeded.

But the feelings of the people against Great Britain were still bitter. The spirit of the Revolution had been reawakened by England's continued possession of certain forts in the west contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1783, and by high-handed measures of English privateers, acting under instructions to capture neutral vessels in the French West Indies, in seizing American ships. Moreover, American seamen had been impressed into the British service. To procure a more friendly line of policy, John Jay, the Chief Justice, was sent to England, and he concluded a favorable treaty. One of its provisions, however, for the payment of debts owed to British subjects before the war, was unsatisfactory to the American people, and the treaty was violently assailed. But Washington urged its adoption in the interests of peace, and Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, made a memorable address in Congress in its favor. It was finally ratified in 1795, and the wise policy of Washington had saved the nation from war.

Meanwhile domestic events of importance had been going on. Jefferson and Hamilton, though both desired the re-election of Washington and both were members of his Cabinet, were leaders of the two opposing political parties. Jefferson attacked the policy of the Treasury Department, and Hamilton criticised severely the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Finally their estrangement became too wide for their continuance in office together, and Jefferson resigned on the last day of December, 1793, retiring to his home at Monticello, Virginia. Hamilton also resigned in the early part of 1795 and resumed the practice of law in New York.

In 1794 what is known as the "Whisky Rebellion" occurred in western Pennsylvania. The people of that region, mostly Republicans, rose in arms to resist the payment of the tax imposed by Congress on dis-

tilled spirits. The insurrectionists did not disperse till Washington sent a force of militia against them. In 1796 Tennessee was admitted to the Union as the sixteenth state, North Carolina having relinquished her claim to the territory.

A treaty was made with Spain in October, 1795, by which the boundaries between Louisiana and the United States were settled and free navigation of the Mississippi secured. But in the same year a humiliating agreement was made with the dey of Algiers, whose piratical vessels had captured a number of American vessels and made their crews slaves. Nearly $800,000 were paid for the liberation of the captives, a frigate costing over $100,000 was presented to the dey, and an annual tribute was promised. Congress, however, had meanwhile set about the work of building up a navy to protect American commerce.

Washington had possessed a wonderful personal influence over the people of the United States, and also over Congress, even when the House of Representatives contained a majority of the party opposed to his policy. He was asked to become a presidential candidate for a third term but refused to do so, and in September, 1798, issued to the nation his farewell address, which contained wise and prudent counsel. Two candidates appeared for the office of President. John Adams was supported by the Federal party, which desired to avoid any entangling alliance with foreign nations. Thomas Jefferson was the candidate of the anti Federal, or Republican party. The political campaign ended with the election of Adams as President, and Jefferson, who received the next highest number of votes, as Vice-President. Washington retired to Mount Vernon, thinking his services in behalf of his country finally ended.

CHAPTER XLII.

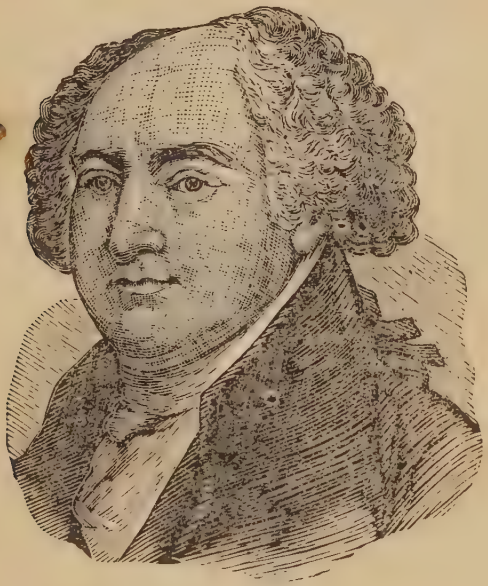
ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION—1797–1801.

Sketch of Adams—Renewed troubles with France—Our envoys are ordered to leave that country—Preparations for war—Naval engagements—Treaty with Napoleon—The Alien and Sedition laws—Death of Washington—The capital is transferred to the District of Columbia—The second census—The Northwestern Territory divided—Jefferson and Burr elected.

John Adams was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1797. He was in his sixty-second year, having been born in October, 1735, in that part of Braintree which is now Quincy, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard College, and following the profession of law, he soon rose to a distinguished position in his own state and in the nation. He was a prominent member in several of the Colonial Congresses, and had been embassador to France and Holland and the first minister to Great Britain after the peace. For eight years he had been Vice-President, and now he assumed the chief magistracy of the nation.

The foreign complications had not ceased with the administration of Washington. Adet, the French minister to the United States, urged, and finally the directory which at that time governed France demanded, an alliance against England. The treaty of 1795 with that nation was especially obnoxious to France. The French navy had received orders to prey on the commerce of the United States, and Charles C. Pinckney, the American minister, had been ordered to leave the country.

These acts, which threatened war, forced the President to convene Congress in extraordinary session. Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall were appointed envoys, in company with Pinckney, to attempt a reconciliation with France. When it was suggested to



JOHN ADAMS.

these embassadors that the payment of a considerable sum of money might insure a favorable hearing, Pinckney made use of the famous expression, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." He and Marshall were ordered to leave France, and the United States afterward recalled Gerry.

Measures were at once taken to prepare for war. The navy was increased and a Department of the Navy created, Benjamin Stoddard, of Maryland, being the first secretary. The army also was increased, Washington was called from his retirement at Mount Vernon to become commander-in-chief, and Alexander Hamilton was selected as the active commander. Commodore Truxton, with the ship *Constellation*, in February, 1799, gained a victory over the French man-of-war *l'Insurgente* while cruising in the West Indies. Later on he also defeated the French vessel *La Vengeance*, but in the night the Frenchman escaped capture.

Beyond a few events of this sort, however, no conflict between the nations took place. Talleyrand, in direction of the foreign relations of the French republic, hearing of the preparations for war, hinted at a resumption of diplomatic relations, and Mr. Murray, our embassador at Holland, was appointed to France. Now it was that Napoleon Bonaparte acquired the chief power in France under the title of Consul. He was desirous of avoiding the alliance between England and the United States, which would have been inevitable had France persisted in her course, and when Murray arrived at Paris in March, 1800, with Oliver Ellsworth and William Davie as his associates, they found that negotiations could be successfully attempted. In September a treaty was concluded, and the danger of war was avoided for the time.

In the summer of 1798 the excitement about foreign affairs led to much fierce discussion. To restrict violent utterances Congress passed the Alien and Sedition laws. By the first of these the period for the naturalization of foreigners was increased to fourteen years, and the President was empowered to send out of the United States any foreigner whose

presence he deemed dangerous to the public welfare. The Sedition Law punished with fine and imprisonment the writing or uttering of "any false, scandalous, or malicious statement" concerning the President or Congress. These laws were bitterly denounced by many people as despotic and tyrannical. Though the first of them was never carried into effect, they made the administration unpopular and aided materially in the defeat of the Federal party in the next election.

Washington did not live to see the danger of war averted. On the 14th of December, 1799, he died at Mount Vernon. The mournful tidings that he had passed away were received with profound sorrow by the people. Their grief was expressed by solemn services, and public bodies adjourned. Congress in a body listened to an eloquent eulogy from the mouth of General Henry Lee.

In the year 1800 the capital of the country was transferred to the city of Washington, at that time a curious combination of huts and half-finished buildings of greater pretension, with a small population. The District of Columbia, within which the city is located, was a tract of land ten miles square lying on both sides of the Potomac, partly in Maryland and partly in Virginia. These states had ceded the territory to the national government, but the portion which lay on the southern side of the river was afterward given back to Virginia. The census of 1800 showed that in ten years the population of the country had increased to over 5,000,000 of souls, the post-offices from seventy-five to 903, and the exports from $20,000,000 to over $70,000,000.

During this year the Northwestern Territory was divided, the eastern portion being called the Territory of Ohio and the remainder Indiana Territory. General William Henry Harrison was made governor of the latter, with his capital at Vincennes.

The election which occurred in the fall of this year was preceded by a bitter campaign. The candidates of the Federalists were John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney. The Republicans, or Democrats, put forward Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The latter candidates received in the electoral college an equal number of votes and more than either Adams or Pinckney. The Federal party never returned to power.

As the law then stood, it devolved on the House of Representatives to decide which of the Republican candidates should occupy the office of chief magistrate. On the thirty-sixth ballot Jefferson was chosen President and Burr became Vice-President.

CHAPTER XLIII.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION—1801–1809.

Sketch of Jefferson — Democratic simplicity — Removals from office — Ohio admitted to the Union — Louisiana purchased — Importance of the acquisition—Organization of the region—Explorations of Lewis and Clark — War with the Barbary States—Decatur's exploit—The war ended—Duel of Burr and Hamilton — Jefferson re-elected — Clinton Vice-President — Change in the method of election — Burr and Blennerhassett—The former acquitted of treason—His subsequent career—France and England—Arbitrary actions of the latter—The right of search—The *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*—The Embargo Act—Robert Fulton—His invention of the steamboat—Madison elected as President—Clinton re-elected.

Thomas Jefferson received the oath of office on March 4, 1801, from John Marshall, whom Adams had appointed Chief Justice in January. Jefferson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in April, 1743, and thus became President at about the age of fifty-eight. He spent some time at the college of William and Mary, and then entered on the practice of law. In the Virginia legislature he had done much to encourage the movement for freedom, and as a member of the Colonial Congress he had been almost the sole author of the Declaration of Independence. He had been embassador abroad, Secretary of Foreign Affairs under Washington, and Vice-President. To him we owe our decimal system of coinage.

Jefferson was a firm believer in democratic simplicity. He rode to the capitol on horseback, escorted by militia and citizens, and delivered a short in-

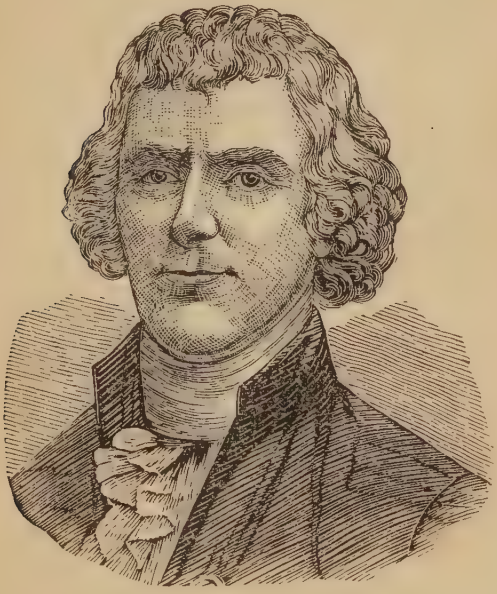
augural address to Congress. His next message to that body was carried by a secretary, and this became the established custom. He also believed in rotation in office, asserting that the policy of the administration could only be successfully carried out by officials of the same political principles. He therefore gave the chief offices to men of his own party—a custom which heretofore had not been generally adopted at the commencement of an administration. In reference to one of his removals he said: "If due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few, by resignation none."

The Alien and Sedition laws had already expired by limitation, but Jefferson renewed his protest against them and granted pardons to all who had been imprisoned under the latter. In 1802 the state of Ohio was organized and admitted to the Union. In the same year the organization of the Mississippi Territory was completed, Georgia having ceded to the national government her claims to the region extending from her western border to the Mississippi River.

The most important event of Jefferson's administration was the acquisition of Louisiana. Napoleon, by a secret treaty with Spain, had come into possession of the whole of this vast territory. New Orleans, which had heretofore been used as a place of deposit for American merchandise, was no longer available for that purpose, and Napoleon, moreover, meditated sending an army to establish French sovereignty in Louisiana. Against the latter proceeding the United States remonstrated, and Jefferson sent James Monroe to act with Mr. Livingston at Paris in negotiating the purchase of New Orleans. Napoleon, short of funds and threatened with an English war, offered to sell the whole territory of Louisiana. His offer was accepted, and the terms of the cession were signed by

the agents of the United States and France on April 30, 1803. The United States paid Napoleon $11,250,000 and assumed debts due from France to American citizens to the extent of $3,750,000.

The region thus acquired embraced more than



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

1,000,000 square miles of territory, extending over the larger part—all the northern and eastern portions—of the vast region west of the Mississippi, and that great water-way of the country now lay entirely within the jurisdiction of the United States, from its source to its mouth. It is not strange that Livingston ex-

claimed: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives" Napoleon also appreciated the importance of the cession, and is said to have remarked: "I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride." The purchase was somewhat in opposition to the principles held by Jefferson and his party, and the President believed that a constitutional amendment would have to be passed. But none was found necessary, and the Senate ratified the treaty on the 19th of October, 1803. Portions of the boundary-line were in dispute for some years, but so far as Spain was concerned the differences were settled by the treaty of 1819, and the treaty of 1846 with Great Britain settled the remainder.

The southern part of the newly acquired region, what is now the state of Louisiana, was organized under the name of the Territory of Orleans; the other portions retained the name of the Territory of Louisiana. In the spring of 1804 Captain Lewis and Captain Clark were sent with a party to explore the northern part of this region, and after an absence of over two years returned with the story of the romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes they had been through, and what was more important, a detailed account of the geography and resources of the country. In 1805 a part of the Northwestern Territory was organized as a separate territory, under the name of Michigan.

Meanwhile the Barbary States in the north of Africa were interfering with our commerce. Commodore Preble was sent against them with a squadron in 1803. In the February following Lieutenant Decatur performed a brilliant exploit. The frigate *Philadelphia* had run aground and been captured in the harbor of Tripoli. Decatur sailed into the port with a force of less than eighty men, boarded the *Philadel-*

phia under the guns of the enemy, killed or forced overboard every one of her defenders, set fire to the vessel, and escaped without losing a man and with only four wounded.

Commodore Preble brought his fleet against Tripoli and commenced a bombardment in the summer of 1804. While he was prosecuting the siege, negotiations were opened to secure the co-operation of Hamet, the deposed sovereign of Tripoli, against Yusef, the ruler at this time. He aided the Americans in capturing the seaport of Derne, and Yusef was brought to terms. A treaty was concluded in June, 1805, by which $60,000 were paid by the United States to secure the liberation of captive sailors, but for a time the depredations ceased.

While these peaceable and warlike actions were being carried on with foreign nations, a mournful event had occurred at home. The Vice-President, Aaron Burr, seeing no hope of his renomination, sought the governorship of New York, but was defeated. Alexander Hamilton, a leading power in that state, took an active part against him, and raised his bitter enmity. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel, and on July 11, 1804, the principals met at Weehawken, across the Hudson from New York. Hamilton fired in the air, but his antagonist less generously took careful aim, and Hamilton fell mortally wounded. Thus perished one of the most brilliant men in our history. Burr was well received thereafter in some quarters, but at the close of his term of office he found that his political career was ruined.

Jefferson, on the contrary, was re-elected in the fall of this year, and George Clinton, of New York, was chosen Vice-President. The defeated Federalist candidates were Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York. The twelfth amendment to the Constitution had been proposed by Con-

gress and ratified by the necessary number of states. By the terms of this amendment the President and Vice-President were to be voted for separately by the electoral college, so that in the future there could be no possibility of the House of Representatives being left to choose between two men who had received an equal number of votes. It will be remembered that under the old law it had taken many ballots after the last election to decide whether Burr or Jefferson should be the chief magistrate, though there could be no doubt of the people's intentions.

The career of Burr after he left office became historical. He went to the west and finally arranged a scheme with Harman Blennerhassett, who had come from Ireland and settled on a charming island in the Ohio River. Burr was accused of plotting the separation of the southern and western states from the Union, and by military force organizing another government, of which he was to be the head. He was arrested and tried at Richmond, Virginia, on a charge of treason; but sufficient proof could not be obtained to secure his conviction and he was acquitted. He afterward went abroad and returned some years later, to practice law in New York and finally die in obscurity.

During Jefferson's second term of office trouble threatened with Great Britain, and those events occurred which led directly to the War of 1812. France and England were engaged at this time in a bitter conflict that taxed the resources of each nation. In May, 1806, England proclaimed a blockade of the northern coast of France, and in November Napoleon replied with his Berlin Decree for the blockade of English ports. A year later Great Britain issued her famous Orders in Council prohibiting commerce with any part of Europe except Russia. The next month—December, 1807—Napoleon retaliated with the Milan

Decree, forbidding the carrying on of trade with England or her colonies.

These and similar acts were in direct violation of the law of nations, but France and England enforced their blockades so far as they were able, and neutral vessels, including many from the United States, were seized. Moreover, Great Britain had revived an old rule prohibiting trade by neutral vessels with the dependencies of any nation with whom she was at war. As a result of these various arbitrary actions, the American carrying-trade, which was beginning to assume considerable proportions, received a serious blow.

But British arrogance went still further: not satisfied with injury to our commerce, she meanwhile had added insult to our flag. In pursuance of her theory that a person of English birth always remained an English subject, she refused to recognize the right of emigrants from her shores to become the subjects or citizens of another nation, and British men-of-war claimed the right of searching American vessels for those whom she claimed to be her subjects and impressing them into the English service. On June 22, 1807, the American frigate *Chesapeake* was hailed off Virginia by the British man-of-war *Leopard*. English officers boarded our ship as friends and then demanded the right of searching her for so-called deserters. Commodore Barron, of course, refused to comply; but before he could get ready for action the *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake* and compelled her submission. Four men were taken from our vessel, one of whom proved to be in reality a deserter; but the other three were American citizens. The government of Great Britain disavowed this proceeding but made no reparation.

This was too much to be borne in silence. Jefferson immediately forbade British ships of war to enter American ports, and on December 22d Congress

passed an Embargo Act. This law prohibited exportations and the sailing of American vessels from home ports. Its intention was to force England and France to acknowledge our rights as neutrals entitled to respect, by showing the importance of our commercial relations. But its chief result actually was utterly runious to American commerce, and in the eastern states it was violently denounced. Its opponents, spelling the name backward, called it the "O grab me" Act. A few days before Jefferson's administration closed it was repealed, after having been in force about fourteen months.

The domestic event of chief importance in Jefferson's second administration is connected with the name of Robert Fulton. Commencing life as an artist, he left painting for engineering pursuits and built the *Clermont*, the first practical steamboat ever constructed. On September 2, 1807, before the eyes of an astonished throng of people, he started from New York on a voyage up the Hudson. Albany was reached the next day, and for many years the *Clermont* continued its trips between these two cities with a speed of about five miles an hour. The importance of the application of steam-power to the purposes of navigation is too widely appreciated to need elaboration. It was one of the greatest inventions which the world has ever known, and the thousands of craft which to-day ply the waters of the globe testify to its usefulness.

Jefferson's administration came to a close in 1809. In the fall of the preceding year Jefferson, although asked on many sides to stand for a third election, followed the precedent set by Washington and refused. James Madison was nominated by the Republicans, with which party he was now allied, as President. He was elected to that office and George Clinton was re-elected Vice-President, the defeated candidates being as at the last election, Pinckney and King.

CHAPTER XLIV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—1809–1817—THE WAR OF 1812 COMMENCED.

Sketch of Madison—The Non-Intercourse Act—"Free trade and sailors' rights"—The *President* and *Little Belt*—The third census—Louisiana admitted to the Union—Indian conspiracy—Tecumseh and the Prophet—The battle of Tippecanoe—Harrison subdues the Indians—The "Henry affair"—War declared with England—Condition of the United States for the struggle—Hull invades Canada—He withdraws—And soon surrenders Detroit to the British—Is tried and condemned for cowardice—Massacre at Fort Dearborn—The Niagara frontier—The Americans cross to Queenstown and are defeated—Smyth succeeds Van Rennselaer—But accomplishes nothing—Naval battles—The *Constitution* and *Guerriere* and others—Success of American privateers—Madison re-elected—Gerry chosen Vice-President.

James Madison was inaugurated as the fourth President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1809. He was nearing the close of his fifty-eighth year, having been born on the 16th of March, 1751, in King George County, Virginia. He had been graduated at Princeton College and had entered the practice of law. His disposition was quiet and calm, but he had entered heartily into the counsels of the patriots, and had rendered good service to his country as a member of the Continental Congress and in other quarters. His political opinions had changed since he joined with Hamilton and Jay in writing the *Federalist*, and he had for eight years been Jefferson's Secretary of State.

From his acquaintance with the foreign relations of

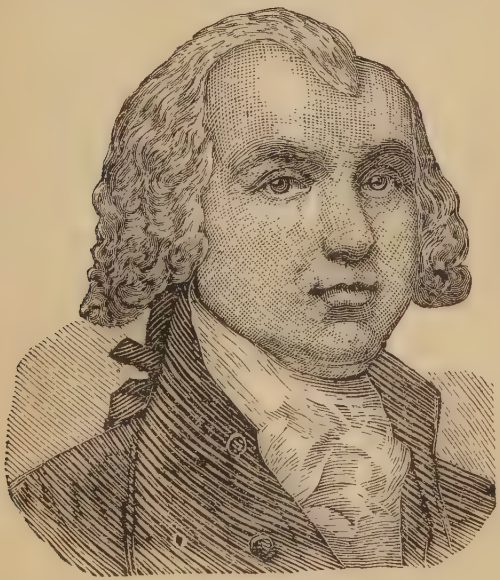
our government he was well fitted to cope with the increasing difficulties, but he favored a peace policy, and at last reluctantly came to see that war was inevitable. The Non-Intercourse Act took the place of the Embargo Act, and now American vessels were only prohibited from trading with Great Britain. The insulting right of search was still insisted on by that country, and 6,000 seamen were pressed into the British service The people of the United States could hope for little consideration from their old enemy, George III., who still occupied the throne of England, an old and half-insane king. A bitter feeling grew and strengthened against the arrogance of the English government. "Free trade and sailors' rights" was the motto adopted by the people.

On May 16, 1811, the American frigate *President*, hailing the British sloop of war *Little Belt*, received a cannon-ball by way of answer. Commodore Rodgers sent a broadside in response, silenced the Englishman, and inflicted a loss of eleven killed and twenty-one wounded. The sentiments of the nation were now more strongly than ever in favor of war.

While the cloud is gathering we must look for a moment at certain domestic interests. The census of 1810 showed a population of nearly 7,240,000. To the seventeen states already in existence Louisiana was added on the 8th of April, 1812, before the declaration of war with England. This was the first state west of the Mississippi.

Trouble had been threatening for some time with the Indians of the northwest, who had been united in a wide-spread conspiracy by the ability of Tecumseh, or Tecumtha, of the Shawnee tribe, and his brother Elkswatawa, called the Prophet, whose pretended connection with a supernatural world created awe and respect for him among the savages. Governor Harrison, of the Northwestern Territory, purchased

from the Indians, by a treaty at Fort Wayne in 1809, their claims to large areas of land, but Tecumseh refused his assent to the agreement. To prepare for the impending danger a force of soldiers was gathered together. Indian outrages occurred, and Harrison marched against the savages while Tecumseh was



JAMES MADISON.

in the south. As he neared the Prophet's town of Tippecanoe he was met by messengers, who asked for a conference on the following day. Harrison agreed, but knowing the treachery of the Indian nature, commanded the soldiers to lie upon their arms during the night. His preparation was not useless. Before the

sun rose on the next morning, November 7, 1811, the savages, creeping along the ground, suddenly fell upon the camp. The soldiers sprung to arms, and after a fierce struggle utterly overwhelmed the enemy. The town was burned, and Tecumseh, returning to find his people subdued, departed to Canada, cast in his lot with the British, and played a prominent part in the war that soon broke out.

The opening of that conflict was almost at hand. The spirit of the country had been further excited by the revelation, in the early part of 1812, of a plot against the United States. Sir James Craig, the governor of Canada, had employed an adventurer, John Henry by name, to further his scheme of estranging the eastern states from the national government. He relied on the suffering caused among these people of commercial interests by the Embargo Act and other measures of the government, to secure their secession and union with Canada. Henry made little progress in the accomplishment of the design, and failing to secure a recompense from the English ministry, sold the account of the whole affair to the United States government for $50,000. Such was the "Henry affair."

Madison was not inclined to war, but his party as a whole was. The war party in Congress, led by John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, was too strong for the Federalists and the anti-War Democrats. Madison was assured that a continuance of his peace policy would prevent his re-election, and, authorized by Congress, he declared war against Great Britain on the 19th of June, 1812. Provision was made for an army and for calling out the militia. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed commander-in-chief, and the President was authorized to borrow $11,000,000.

England, indeed, was still occupied by her struggle with Napoleon, but through her powerful navy

she was mistress of the seas, and her wealth was great. The United States, on the contrary, had a small army and a navy almost insignificant compared with that of Great Britain. Her vast extent of sea-coast was but partially protected by forts. Moreover, the war was bitterly opposed in many quarters of the country, and even threats of secession were heard. New England was especially outspoken against the war policy.

Nevertheless the United States commenced an aggressive movement on land. General William Hull, the governor of Michigan Territory, crossed in July from Detroit to Sandwich. He had a force of about 300 regulars and 1,200 volunteers and meditated the capture of Malden. Now the news came that the British had captured Mackinaw, and though Hull might have attacked Malden with success, he caught at the excuse and returned to Detroit.

Soon General Brock arrived at Malden and took command of the British forces. He crossed the river with Tecumseh and advanced to Detroit on the 16th of August. The Americans were eager for battle and the gunners stood ready by their cannon. As the British drew near they were surprised and the Americans were equally amazed—Hull had displayed a white flag, and the coward surrendered the post and Michigan Territory, with all his force, to the enemy. Some time after the United States secured possession of Hull by exchange, and a court-martial found him guilty of cowardice and conduct unbecoming an officer. He was sentenced to be shot, but was pardoned by the President in consideration of his Revolutionary services. Many excuses were afterward given for Hull's surrender, and his name has been partially relieved from dishonor.

The day before the disgraceful surrender of Detroit, Fort Dearborn, on the spot where Chicago now

stands, was surrendered to the Indians. The garrison were promised safety but many of them were massacred and the fort was burned.

The American force on the Niagara, largely composed of the New York militia, was under the command of General Van Rennselaer. On the 13th of October he crossed the river from Lewiston to Queenstown with 1,000 men. The landing was fiercely contested but the Americans gained the shore, and under the leadership of Captain Wool they charged the heights and captured the English guns. General Brock led his men to recover their battery but was repulsed and wounded fatally. Now Lieutenant-Colonel Scott arrived with a small re-enforcement from Lewiston, but the bulk of the force at that place, consisting of New York militia, refused to go out of their state. They stood on their constitutional rights while the brave men across the river struggled in vain against a re-enforced enemy. One hundred and sixty men were killed or wounded and few of the remainder escaped capture.

Van Rennselaer, naturally enough, was disgusted at the action of the New York militia and resigned his command. General Smyth, who succeeded him, accomplished nothing of value. He issued pompous proclamations, but failed to support a force of Americans who gained the Canadian shore from Black Rock, near Buffalo, and recalled these and another party who were about to cross. He was charged with cowardice, the militia grew unruly under his command, and he finally resigned.

The poor success of the Americans by land was offset by several brilliant naval battles. The first of these occurred on the 19th of August off the coast of Massachusetts. Captain Dacres, of the British frigate *Guerriere*, in spite of boasts he had made, was forced to surrender after a fierce attack by the *Constitution*,

called "Old Ironsides," commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, who had none of the cowardice of his uncle the general. The British lost fifteen killed and sixty-three wounded, and the *Guerriere* was so badly injured that she had to be destroyed. The American loss was only fourteen in killed and wounded.

On the 18th of October, off Virginia, the sloop of war *Wasp*, of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Jacob Jones, attacked the brig *Frolic*, of twenty-two guns, which was convoying a fleet of British merchant vessels. After a murderous fire on both sides the Americans boarded the *Frolic*. They found only one able man, the helmsman, on deck, and themselves hauled down the British flag. The rest of the crew were killed or wounded or had gone below. Shortly after the victory the *Poictiers*, a British vessel carrying seventy-four guns, appeared on the scene and captured the *Wasp* and her well-earned prize.

A few days after this battle the frigate *United States*, under the command of Commodore Decatur, captured the British frigate *Macedonian* near the Canary Islands. The Americans suffered little loss and inflicted much. Two days before the year closed the *Constitution*, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, fell in with the British frigate *Java* off Brazil. A terrible engagement of more than two hours took place. When at last the *Java* had lost every spar and a large part of her crew she struck her colors. She had been riddled with shot and had to be burned.

These victories over the proud mistress of the seas caused unbounded enthusiasm in the United States and equal dismay in England. And besides these battles, American privateers by the close of the year had captured nearly 300 merchant vessels and over 3,000 prisoners.

In the fall of 1812 the national election occurred

and Madison was chosen President for a second term. George Clinton had died in the preceding April, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, was elected Vice-President.

CHAPTER XLV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—EVENTS OF 1813.

Massacre of Kentuckians on the River Raisin—Fort Meigs besieged—The British withdraw—Proctor defeated at Fort Stephenson—The battle of Lake Erie—"We have met the enemy, and they are ours"—Consequences of Perry's victory—The British defeated at the Thames—Tecumseh killed—The Creek War—Massacre at Fort Mimms—Andrew Jackson takes a leading part in the war—The Indians defeated at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa—York captured—Fort George occupied—Brown drives the British from Sackett's Harbor—Wilkinson succeeds Dearborn—He proceeds down the St. Lawrence—The battle of Chrysler's Field—The British burn towns on the Niagara frontier—Naval battles—The *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*—Lawrence killed—"Don't give up the ship"—The British navy harass the coast.

The campaign of 1813 was opened by the army of the west. General Winchester advanced early in January from Fort Defiance, on the Maumee, and a detachment of his force captured Frenchtown, on the River Raisin. Winchester now arrived, and on the 22d of the month was attacked by the British and Indians under General Proctor. The victory was hotly contested, but finally Winchester was captured and advised his men to accept the promise of safety and to surrender. Proctor at once departed with the British to Malden, and the Indians, maddened by the liquor they had obtained, fell upon the Americans with fiendish ferocity. They murdered many of the Americans, set fire to houses filled with wounded, and carried away numerous captives to Detroit, where they

fixed a large ransom for their release. Many of the victims were Kentuckians, and their comrades fought afterward under the battle-cry of "Remember the River Raisin."

General Harrison, now in command, built Fort Meigs, where he was besieged by Proctor and Tecumseh on the first day of May; but General Clay came to the rescue with 1,200 Kentuckians, and after a sharp conflict succeeded in raising the siege. The Indians acted with their customary ferocity toward the unfortunate men who fell into their hands. On one occasion Tecumseh saved a prisoner from the brutality of the savages, and he even rebuked Proctor, for complaining that he could not restrain the Indians, by sternly exclaiming: "Go put on petticoats: you are not fit to command men."

It was not till July that the British and Indians, 4,000 in number, under Proctor and Tecumseh, returned to Fort Meigs. Failing to draw out the garrison, Proctor marched with 1,800 men against Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky. Colonel Croghan, in command at that post, had but one cannon and 160 men. The commandant was but twenty-one years of age, but he was brave as a lion. He refused to surrender while a man was left alive. On August 2d the British stormed the fort and swarmed into the trench. Croghan had placed his gun so as to rake the ditch, and he poured a deadly charge into the crowded mass of the enemy. Few escaped from the trench, and Proctor abandoned the siege.

It was now seen that the control of Lake Erie was necessary to an aggressive movement on Canada. A British squadron of six vessels, under Commodore Barclay, mounting in all sixty-three guns, commanded its waters. But Commodore Oliver H. Perry, a young man of twenty-eight years of age, gathered or built a fleet of nine vessels, carrying fifty-four guns.

On the 10th of September the squadrons encountered each other near Put-in Bay, in the western part of the lake. Perry's flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, opened the battle by attacking Barclay's vessel, the *Detroit*. The *Lawrence* suffered frightfully in vessel and crew, though the *Detroit* was in nearly as bad a condition.

Now Perry performed the feat of which Americans will never be tired of hearing. Jumping into a boat he was rowed to the *Niagara*. Standing erect, he passed uninjured through a storm of balls, and transferred his flag to this vessel, which was in good condition. With the *Niagara* he broke the British line of battle, pouring terrific broadsides on either side. In a few minutes the battle was won. Perry returned to the bloody decks of the *Lawrence*, to receive the surrender, and he sent to General Harrison the well-known dispatch: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The news of this victory was received with unbounded enthusiasm, and its results were most important. Harrison's army was soon transported across the lake and landed near Malden. The British retreated and the Americans pursued. Finally Proctor and Tecumseh made a stand at a strong position on the River Thames. There, on the 5th of October, the Americans under Harrison and Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, attacked the enemy. A charge of Colonel Johnson with his Kentucky cavalry broke the line of the British regulars, and Proctor fled from the field. The Indians, who lay in a swamp, fought bravely under the direction of Tecumseh till a ball ended the life of the great chieftain; then the savages fled. The victory was gained, but the gallant Johnson had been seriously wounded. This was all made possible by Perry's victory on Lake Erie. The results of Hull's cowardice had been reversed and Michigan had

been recovered. Lake Erie was in possession of the Americans, Ohio was safe, and the Indian confederacy had been broken.

Now in another part of the country we have to hear of trouble with Indians that likewise resulted finally in their overthrow. The Creeks of Alabama had risen to arms and surprised Fort Mimms, forty miles to the north of Mobile, on the 30th of August. Here they murdered about 400 men, women, and children. The news of this massacre brought numerous bodies of militia from all the surrounding region. General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was the leading figure in this campaign. General Coffee defeated the savages at Tallushatchee, burned the town, and inflicted a severe punishment. Jackson, on November 8th, routed them at Talladega, and other battles were gained by the whites.

The war extended into the next spring. In January, 1814, the troops of Tennessee gained a victory at Emucfau. The last conflict of the Creek War took place on the 27th of March. The Indians had taken a strong position at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River. Coffee surrounded the savages with part of the force, and Jackson with the main body led the assault. Six hundred of the Indians perished, and all that were left were only too glad to submit.

Having followed the Creek War to its close, we now return to the spring of 1813 and northern operations. Lake Ontario was controlled by the Americans. General Dearborn, in command of the army of the center, embarked his forces from Sackett's Harbor to capture the British post at York, now Toronto. General Pike led the assaulting party on April 27th, and he succeeded in forcing a landing and driving back the British. Now the powder-magazine of the enemy blew up, and scores of the Americans and many of the British were killed. Pike himself was mortally

wounded, but his men rallied and routed the British. Many prisoners were taken, and a large quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans.

The Americans now re-embarked and proceeded to Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River. The British destroyed their magazines and retired to Burlington, whither the Americans pursued. The enemy attacked them in the night, but were repulsed. They succeeded, however, in capturing the American generals Chandler and Winder.

Meanwhile Sackett's Harbor had been left without sufficient defense. Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, led a force against it in the last days of May and destroyed some stores. General Jacob Brown, however, collected the militia on short notice and drove the British back to their boats.

General Dearborn resigned his commission during the summer and General Wilkinson took his place. A plan was formed for the capture of Montreal. Wilkinson was to advance down the St. Lawrence, and General Wade Hampton, in command of the army of the north in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain, was to join him. In the early part of November the Americans sailed down the St. Lawrence, but the enemy followed on the banks and offered obstructions. Finally a force of Americans, under General Brown, were landed, and a battle took place at Chrysler's Field on November 11th. Our forces lost about 300 men and the British about 200, but the battle was not decisive. Wilkinson proceeded down the river to St. Regis, where Hampton was expected to join him. But the latter failed to arrive, and Wilkinson settled for the winter at French Mills, now Fort Covington, nine miles from St. Regis.

Meanwhile the British had advanced against Fort George, and the Americans, after burning Newark, were forced to withdraw. The enemy soon crossed

the river, captured Fort Niagara, and set fire to Buffalo, Lewiston, and several other villages. So close the campaigns of 1813 on land.

During the year several memorable battles had taken place at sea. On the 24th of February the sloop of war *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, ran across the British brig *Peacock*, near the mouth of the Demarara River, in South America. After a short engagement of fifteen minutes, but terrible while it lasted, the *Peacock* surrendered. She sunk almost immediately. Lawrence afterward returned to Boston and took command of the frigate *Chesapeake*. He received a challenge to fight from Captain Broke, of the British frigate *Shannon*. He accepted, somewhat rashly, as his crew was not full, unpaid, and therefore somewhat unruly. The engagement occurred near Cape Ann and was short and bloody. Every one of the principal officers was killed or wounded early in the conflict, and Lawrence himself received a mortal shot. As he was carried below he gave utterance to the well-known order, "Don't give up the ship." In vain his heroism. The British were already boarding his vessel and hoisting the flag of England in place of the stars and stripes. The *Shannon* towed her capture to Halifax. Lawrence died on the way and was buried in port with the honors of war, his remains subsequently being removed to Trinity church-yard, at New York.

On the 14th of August the American brig *Argus*, after she had succeeded in making prizes of twenty or more merchant vessels, was herself overtaken and captured by the British brig *Pelican*. On the 5th of the next month the *Boxer*, a British brig, was captured by the American vessel *Enterprise*. The British commander was killed in the action and the captain of the *Enterprise* was mortally wounded. Both were buried together with equal honors.

During the year the British vessels of war had been hovering on our coast, striking a blow when occasion offered. The squadron on the New England coast had acted with some humanity, but not so the vessels in Delaware and Chesapeake bays. In the former Lewistown was bombarded after its inhabitants had refused to furnish provisions to the enemy or to surrender the town. Much injury was done and the people fled. On the Chesapeake several villages were burned.

The campaigns on land had resulted on the whole favorably for the American cause. Among the naval battles Perry's victory was especially noteworthy. The others were bravely fought but did not all end in success.

CHAPTER XLVI.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED—CLOSE OF THE WAR.

The *Essex* captured by the British—Operations in the west—The Niagara frontier—Fort Erie captured—The battle of Lundy's Lane—The British besiege Fort Erie—The siege raised—Operations in the north—Land and naval battle at Plattsburg—Prevost's invasion checked—The British burn Washington—They bombard Fort McHenry in vain—And retire—The Hartford convention—Anti-war spirit of New England—The Spaniards violate international law—Jackson takes revenge—He fortifies New Orleans—And defeats Packenham—Naval battles—Negotiations for peace—The treaty of Ghent—Provisions of the treaty—The public debt—The Bank of the United States—Prosperity dawns again—Conclusion of the troubles with the Barbary States—Indiana admitted to the Union—Liberia settled—Monroe and Tompkins elected.

The early part of 1814 saw no events of special importance, except the close of the Creek War, as narrated in the last chapter, and a naval engagement in the harbor of Valparaiso. The *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, had been cruising for some months in the South Atlantic and the Pacific, capturing many British whale-ships. On the 28th of March Porter was attacked in the neutral harbor of Valparaiso, in violation of the laws of nations, by two British vessels, the *Phœbe* and the *Cherub*. After a brave fight he was forced to surrender, and reported to the government: "We are unfortunate, but not disgraced."

It was not until May that active operations commenced. Then a small force left St. Louis and ascended the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien for the

purpose of quieting the savages. But on the 17th of July a superior force of Canadians and Indians compelled the surrender of the Americans. Another expedition of 600 men, under Colonel Croghan, proceeded against Mackinaw and bravely assaulted that place on the 4th of August, but the Americans were repulsed and retired.

Meanwhile on the Niagara frontier there had been greater activity. Generals Scott, Ripley, and Brown crossed to Fort Erie on the 3d of July, and the small force of British surrendered that post without fighting. The Americans proceeded down the stream, and on the 5th of the month were attacked by the British, under General Riall, near the Chippewa River. The Americans lost over 300 men; the British lost more than 500 and were driven back, retreating finally to Burlington Heights.

On the 25th of July General Scott, who was watching the enemy, commenced a battle at Lundy's Lane, close to Niagara Falls. He held his own till re-enforcements arrived. The British were also re-enforced, and as darkness drew on the battle waxed fiercer and fiercer. Brown called on Colonel Miller to take a battery which was the key to the British position. "I will try," replied Miller. His men charged, captured the battery, and maintained their ground against two desperate assaults of the enemy. Riall was captured, General Drummond, in command of the enemy, was wounded, and the British were defeated. It was the fiercest battle of the war. The American forces engaged numbered about 3,000 and the British 4,000; the former lost 743, the latter 878.

Scott and Brown being both wounded, General Ripley withdrew his forces to Fort Erie. General Gaines now crossed from Buffalo and assumed command. General Drummond was re-enforced and

commenced a siege of Fort Erie in the first week of August. On the 15th of the month the British stormed the works, but were repulsed. They continued the siege, however, with vigor. Gaines was wounded and Brown took command. On the 17th of September a fierce sortie was successfully made. This and the news that General Izard was advancing from Plattsburg with re-enforcements led the British to abandon the siege and retire. The Americans destroyed Fort Erie early in November, crossed the river, and went into winter-quarters at Buffalo. This successful campaign was the last during the war on the Niagara frontier.

At the close of 1813 we left Wilkinson's army at French Mills, near St. Regis. In February of 1814 the American forces were taken to Plattsburg. Wilkinson now attempted an invasion of Canada and advanced as far as La Colle, on the Sorrel. There he was defeated. He retired to Plattsburg, and was succeeded in command by General Izard. When Izard marched to the relief of Fort Erie he left 1,500 men at Plattsburg, under General Macomb. The Americans also had a squadron of vessels on the lake commanded by Commodore Macdonough.

Meanwhile England had successfully concluded her war with France, and many of her veterans were transferred to America. Sir George Prevost now attempted to invade the United States by way of Lake Champlain with a force of 14,000 men, supported by a fleet under Commodore Downie. Macomb withdrew his small force across the Saranac at Plattsburg, tore up the bridges, and for several days kept the British back. On the 11th of September the British made an attack by land and water. Downie's squadron bore down on Macdonough, and for more than two hours the victory was unsettled. But at the end of that time some of the British vessels struck their colors, and those that

could sailed away. Both fleets had been terribly shattered. On shore, meanwhile, the Americans had stoutly resisted the attempts of the enemy to cross the Saranac. A few of the overwhelming forces of the British had at last succeeded in gaining a footing on the southern shore, but inspired by the victory on the lake, the Americans rallied and drove them back. The day was won. Prevost retired to Canada. He had lost 2,500 men in a costly expedition. The attempt to follow out the plan of Burgoyne's invasion had been disastrous, like that famous campaign of the Revolution.

While these various events were occurring in the north the British had directed an expedition against the very capital of the country. Admiral Cochrane, in the latter part of the summer, arrived on the coast of Virginia with a fleet bearing more than 4,000 soldiers under General Ross. The American squadron could not oppose them, and Commodore Barney, in command, was obliged to destroy his vessels and take to the shore. The British landed on the banks of the Patuxent River and began their march to Washington, forty miles away. The only opposition to their advance was made at Bladensburg, on the 24th of August, but the smaller force of militia under General Winder and marines under Barney were soon overcome, and the American commodore was captured. The British the same day entered the city, which had been deserted by the President and other officials, and burned the President's mansion, the magnificent though unfinished capitol, and other buildings. Damage to the amount of $2,000,000 was said to have been done. A part of the British squadron sailed up the Potomac to Alexandria and there captured twenty-one vessels, besides large quantities of flour and tobacco.

The British now sailed around to Baltimore, but

there they met a decided check. The American militia had gathered to the number of 10,000 or more, and on the 12th of September, when the British landed at North Point, a skirmish occurred in which Ross was killed. Pursuing their way, however, the British were soon halted by the main body of the Americans. In the meantime the British fleet had sailed up the Patapsco. All day long and far into the night of the 13th they bombarded Fort McHenry. Then, finding that they produced little effect, the soldiers were embarked and the fleet sailed away. It was during the night of this bombardment that "The Star-Spangled Banner" was composed by Francis S. Key, who was detained on one of the British vessels.

In August Commodore Hardy bombarded the town of Stonington, Connecticut, but the assembling of the militia prevented a landing. The valley of the Penobscot, in Maine, was in the hands of the British, and they maintained an effective blockade on all the ports on the northern Atlantic coast.

About the middle of December a convention of delegates from the eastern states met at Hartford. Their deliberations were secret, and they were accused of plotting treasonable measures against the active prosecution of the war. New England's commercial interests, which had been ruined, forced her people to oppose the commencement of war and prevented their active co-operation during its continuance. Their discussions turned out to be less unpatriotic than had been suspected, but the Federal party had to bear a serious weight of reproach, and the members of the convention had little success in their subsequent political career.

We are now close on the last campaign of the war. The Spanish authorities in Florida had violated international law by allowing the British to fit out an expedition at Pensacola, a neutral port, against Fort

Bowyer. This post, which commanded the entrance to Mobile Bay, was attacked on the 15th of September, but the British were repulsed. General Jackson, who commanded the American army in this region, acted with his usual energy by marching to Pensacola, capturing the town, and driving the British away.

Jackson then withdrew and soon proceeded to New Orleans, where he took vigorous measures to prepare for an expected attack. His precautions were not in vain. On the 10th of December a large British fleet entered Lake Borgne, to the northeast of New Orleans. It carried 12,000 soldiers, under the veteran General Packenham, besides many marines. The British soon captured, but not without loss, the American gun-boats which opposed them, and their way lay open to New Orleans.

On the 22d of the month the British had reached the bank of the Mississippi nine miles below New Orleans. On the night of the 23d Jackson attacked them, but was obliged to retire, though the British loss was greater than his own.

Jackson now took up a strong position behind a canal, four miles below the city which extended from the river to a swamp. Twice the British tried without success an assault and a heavy fire from the batteries they had brought into position. Jackson threw up earthworks behind the trench, that was full of water. He used bales of cotton and sand-bags to add to the strength of his works, and with about 6,000 men awaited an attack.

The British assault was ordered early on the morning of the 8th of January, 1815. Across the open space they charged, exposed to a terrible fire from the cannon. As they drew nearer the sharpshooters of Tennessee and Kentucky, safe behind the intrenchments, mowed them down. Packenham was killed, the second in command was mortally wounded.

Finally General Lambert recalled his scattered men. The British loss had been terrible. Two thousand of their army had been killed, wounded, or captured. The American loss was seven killed and six wounded—an insignificant number. A few days later the British withdrew to their ships.

This was the close of the War of 1812, for news soon came that a treaty of peace had been signed before the battle of New Orleans. The want of rapid means of communication, such as the telegraph now affords, cost many lives. And the war still continued for a while on the ocean. In February the frigate *Constitution* captured off the coast of Portugal two British sloops of war, the *Cyane* and the *Alert*. On the 23d of March the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, captured the British brig *Penguin* off Brazil.

Negotiations for peace had commenced in the summer of 1814, commissioners from the United States and Great Britain having been sent to Ghent, in Belgium. Those from this country were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. It was the 24th of December, however, before a treaty was signed. In February the news reached the United States, and on the 18th of February, 1815, the Senate ratified the treaty and the President proclaimed peace.

The treaty amounted to little more than an agreement for the cessation of hostilities. The special grievances which led the United States to begin war were not redressed, nor the debated questions concerning the impressment of seamen and the rights of neutral nations settled publicly. But the British commissioners probably gave assurances to our representatives that England would cease from her unwarrantable interferences, and in truth she did so. This was the practical result of the war, and moreover the many victories of American vessels had humbled the pride

of Great Britain and given an honorable reputation to the stars and stripes in naval warfare.

However little the treaty seemed to settle, the people of both nations were rejoiced at the return of peace. Hundreds of vessels and thousands of lives had been lost by the United States, and at the close of the war the public debt was $100,000,000. Besides the destruction of commerce, the country was in a deplorable financial condition. The Bank of the United States had ceased to exist in 1811 by the limitation of its charter, and during the war the other banks throughout the country were forced to suspend specie payment, and the currency fell in value. But in 1816 the Bank of the United States, located at Philadelphia, with branches in other cities, was rechartered for twenty years, a heavy duty was levied on imported merchandise, and credit was restored. At the close of the war ship-building had commenced once more, factories were reopened, commerce was renewed. It was the beginning of a prosperous period for the nation.

During the war Algiers had repeated her former outrages on American vessels. When peace left our government free from graver difficulties, Commodore Decatur was sent with nine vessels to right our wrongs. On the 17th of June Decatur captured an Algerine frigate near Gibraltar, after a short but sharp engagement. Two days later he captured another vessel, and when, soon after, he reached Algiers, the dey was forced to sign a treaty releasing his American captives and renouncing all claim to future tribute from this country. Decatur then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli and obliged them to pay for their depredations and to give pledges for their good behavior in the future. Thus were brought to an end the troubles with the Barbary States, which had occasioned no little trouble, had cost many vessels and

American seamen, and had forced the payment of a shameful tribute.

In December, 1819, Indiana, the nineteenth state, was admitted into the Union. About this period the Colonization Society of the United States was formed, for the purpose of founding in Africa a colony of free negroes. Colored emigrants were soon sent to the western coast of Africa, and later on Liberia became an independent republic.

The election that occurred in the fall of 1816 resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the Federal candidate, Rufus King, and the victory of the Republican candidates, James Monroe, of Virginia, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

CHAPTER XLVII.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION—1817–1825.

Sketch of Monroe—His Cabinet—The "era of good feeling"—Indian reservations—Freebooters in the Gulf of Mexico—Jackson quiets the Seminoles—He captures St. Mark's and executes two Englishmen—England and Spain complain but without effect—The United States acquires Florida—Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama admitted to the Union—The first transatlantic steamer—The Missouri Compromise—Maine and Missouri become states—Re-election of Monroe and Tompkins—Piracy in the West Indies suppressed—The Monroe Doctrine—Lafayette's visit to America—Presidential candidates—John Quincy Adams and Calhoun elected.

James Monroe was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817. He took the Presidential chair near the close of his fifty-ninth year, having been born in Virginia on April 28, 1758. He had taken a prominent place in the councils of the nation. He had been the governor of his state, a member of the House of Representatives, a Senator, an embassador abroad, and Secretary of State under Madison. It was he who, in conjunction with Livingston, negotiated the purchase of Louisiana.

Monroe chose for his advisers John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State; William H. Crawford as Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War, and William Wirt as Attorney-General. Soon after his inauguration, following Washington's example, he made a tour of the northern states. Party animosities were in large measure forgotten, and the "era of good feeling" began with reviving commerce and general prosperity.

In September of 1817 a treaty was concluded with the Indians north of the Ohio River, by which their claims to the country were purchased for certain sums in cash, besides promised annuities. The plan was also adopted of locating the tribes apart from each other in reservations, with the hope that their savage instincts would be lost amid the surrounding civilization. This system of reservations, though it continues at the present day in the west, has not accomplished all that was desired. The Indians do not readily adopt civilized habits and often break out into bloodshed and massacre.

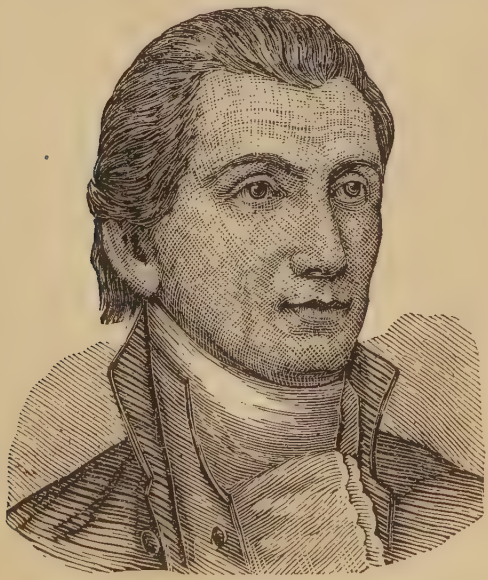
The administration was soon called on to suppress two bands of freebooters who carried on a trade in slaves and privateering operations from islands which they occupied off the coasts of Florida and Texas. Active measures were taken and the adventurers were dispersed.

Before the close of 1817 the Seminole Indians in the extreme south showed signs of hostility, and General Gaines was sent against them. His forces being insufficient to effect the purpose, General Jackson was ordered to take the matter in hand. With 1,000 riflemen from Tennessee he entered the Indian country and laid it waste. The Indians made little opposition to the man whose powers had gained him among them the name of Big Knife.

Jackson, thinking that the Spaniards had incited the Indians to their depredations, now proceeded to St. Mark's, in Florida, which place he captured. He seized two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who were tried by court-martial on a charge of inciting the Indians, found guilty, and executed. Jackson then proceeded to Pensacola, of which place he took possession, and captured Fort Barrancas, on the shore of the bay, after a slight resistance.

The execution of two British subjects raised such a

storm of indignation in England that another war was threatened. But the English ministry admitted the justice of the act, and the danger was avoided. Spain also complained of Jackson's proceeding, and his enemies in the United States sharply assailed him. But the President and Congress approved his deeds.



JAMES MONROE.

Spain now saw naturally enough that the maintainance of a Spanish government in Florida would be a burden, and the cession of the territory was proposed. Commissioners met at Washington, and a treaty was concluded on the 19th of February, 1819, by which the United States received Florida, and in payment agreed

to assume debts of the Spanish government to American citizens not exceeding $5,000,000. The treaty also fixed the eastern boundary of Mexico at the Sabine River.

In December, 1817, the state of Mississippi was admitted to the Union. A year later Illinois and Alabama were added, and about the same time Arkansas Territory was formed out of the southern portion of the Territory of Missouri.

In 1819 the first steamboat crossed the Atlantic. This pioneer of transatlantic steam navigation was named the *Savannah*.

The famous "Missouri Compromise of 1820" marked the first crisis in the slavery question. The invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney, in 1793, had increased the cultivation of cotton in the south, where, for this purpose and the raising of rice and tobacco, slave-labor was deemed a necessity. In the north, meanwhile, there had been growing a feeling opposed to slavery. When Missouri applied for admission as a slave state, the opponents of the institution desired to deny the request. But the upholders of slavery threatened to exclude Maine, which was also desirous of becoming a state. The controversy was carried on with great bitterness, and threats of secession were even heard. But, largely by the efforts of Henry Clay, a compromise was agreed on in 1820, and finally carried into effect in February, 1821, which provided for the admission of Missouri as a slave state, but forbade slavery in the territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, the southern boundary of Missouri. Thus the question was settled for the time. Maine became a state on the 15th of March, 1820, and Missouri on the 21st of August, 1821.

While the Missouri question was still agitating the country, Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected by an almost unanimous vote. The old Federal party

had by this time well-nigh disappeared. Two years later our government undertook the suppression of piracy in the West Indies, the work being successfully completed in the year 1823.

During the first quarter of this century the countries of Central and South America, which had been under the yoke of Spain since the days of Cortes and Pizarro, had rebelled and established governments of their own. The United States naturally sympathized with such movements, and in 1822 recognized their independence. The next year Monroe, in his annual message to Congress, asserted that the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." This is the substance of what is known as the Monroe Doctrine, and has always received the hearty indorsement of the American people.

The great event which closed Monroe's administration was the visit of Lafayette to the United States. The friend of Washington, the nobleman who sympathized with the struggle for freedom and lent his best efforts to secure its success, returned in his old age to the land of his youthful enthusiasm. Everything was changed. A mighty nation had taken the place of the poor and feeble colonies. But Lafayette's memory was dear to the new generation. He traveled through the country in triumph, visited the tomb of Washington, and departed, after a visit of more than a year, in the frigate *Brandywine*—named in honor of the first battle in which the Frenchman had fought side by side with the colonists of America.

The national election in the fall of 1824 occasioned much excitement. Four candidates were put forward for the office of President, representing different sections of the country: they were John Quincy Adams for the east, William H. Crawford for the south,

Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson for the west. As no one of the candidates received a majority of votes in the electoral college, the choice devolved on the House of Representatives for the second time in our history. The result was the election of John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, had been chosen by the electoral college for the office of Vice-President.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION—1825–1829.

Sketch of Adams—A peaceful period—Political parties in a transformation stage—Trouble with the Creek Indians—The Erie Canal opened—Deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson—Morgan and the anti-Masonic party—The tariff question—Jackson elected President—Calhoun re-elected Vice-President.

John Quincy Adams, son of the second President of the Republic, was born in Massachusetts July 11, 1767. He thus assumed office in his fifty-eighth year. He was a man of brilliant scholarship. As our minister in various parts of Europe he had exhibited great talent in conducting matters of diplomacy, and he had been Secretary of State under Monroe. He had likewise been a Senator from his native state. On the 4th of March, 1825, one of the most talented statesmen who ever occupied the Presidential chair was inaugurated.

The administration of Adams was marked by few notable events. It was a period of peace, and the nation was growing silently in population, wealth, and power. The men who had aided in fighting the battles of freedom and in forming the government of the Union were no longer the leaders in its forward movement. Many of them were dead, and all the survivors were gray with years. Half a century had passed since the opening of the Revolution.

The party lines also which had divided the nation in its early years were practically obliterated. Old

animosities were forgotten, and soon new parties were to spring into being on far different issues from those of the earlier ones, but as yet the question of supporting or opposing the President was virtually the only issue. In the Senate the friends of Adams were outnumbered by his opponents, and in the House the majority of his supporters lasted but for one session of Congress.

During the first year of this administration a difficulty arose and was settled with the authorities of Georgia. When that state had ceded her claims to Mississippi Territory, the national government had agreed to purchase and give to her the lands held by the Creek Indians within her limits. This promise had never been fulfilled, and the governor of Georgia prepared to remove the Indians and distribute their lands. The controversy became serious, but was finally settled amicably through a treaty made by the President with the Creeks in March, 1826, by which they ceded their lands and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi.

In October, 1825, the Erie Canal was formally opened. It was the most extensive public improvement which had as yet been undertaken in the United States; but it was the state of New York alone that commenced and carried through the work. It was no slight labor to complete a canal 363 miles in length. It had taken eight years and $7,600,000 for its first cost, and all honor is due to the foresight, public spirit, and energy of De Witt Clinton and others for their untiring devotion to the enterprise. The canal, extending from Buffalo to Albany, and thus connecting the great lakes by way of the Hudson with the Atlantic Ocean, has been no small factor in making New York the Empire State.

It was a remarkable coincidence that on the fiftieth anniversary of independence, July 4, 1826, John

Adams and Thomas Jefferson passed together from among the living. Half a century to a day before their death both had signed their names to the Declaration of Independence which the pen of one of them had written, and since that memorable day both had faithfully served the Union they helped to form,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

and both had been honored with the highest office the people could bestow.

In 1826 an event occurred in New York which called a new political party into life for a time. William Morgan, an inhabitant of the western part of New York, announced that he would expose the se-

crets of the Freemasons, to which society be belonged. He suddenly disappeared, and was never seen or heard of again. The enemies of the Masonic order asserted that he had been murdered by members of the society, and an anti-Masonic party grew out of the excitement. The party was stronger in New York than elsewhere, but it spread to some extent over the country, and in 1832 it nominated William Wirt for President. After his defeat it soon disappeared.

The question of the tariff, or duties on imported goods, was much discussed during this administration, and it has never ceased to vex the nation. One set of statesmen urge that a tariff should be levied "for revenue only"—in other words, that duties should be assessed merely to provide the money for the expenses of conducting the government. Others uphold the "American System," as it has been called, of assessing sufficient duties on imported articles to make them cost equal to or greater than the cost of similar goods produced in this country. The plan of protection naturally meets with more favor in quarters such as New England, where manufacturing industries predominate, while the south and west, being more largely agricultural in their interests, derive less benefit from such a policy and therefore oppose it. Congress at this time inclined to the protection view, and in 1828 increased duties were provided for various articles.

An exciting election occurred in the fall of 1824. Adams was nominated for a second term and was supported by his Secretary of State, Henry Clay. His opponent was Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, who was elected by a large majority. John C. Calhoun was continued in the office of Vice-President.

CHAPTER XLIX.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION—1829–1837.

Sketch of Jackson—His firm character—Removals from office—Use of the veto power—The President's opposition to the United States Bank—The national charter of the bank expires—Jackson removes the government funds—And distributes them among state banks—The tariff question—South Carolina threatens resistance—Jackson's prompt measures preserve peace—The Black Hawk War—Trouble with the Cherokees—Osceola takes up arms for the Seminoles—Dade's massacre—The surprise at Fort King—Various indecisive battles—Jackson re-elected—Van Buren chosen Vice-President—Threatening relations with France terminate peacefully—Deaths of Monroe and Madison—Great fire in New York—Arkansas and Michigan become states—New political parties—Van Buren and Johnson elected.

Andrew Jackson was born in North Carolina, on the 15th of March, 1767. His inauguration on the 4th of March, 1829, found him therefore nearly sixty-two years old, the greatest age at which any one had yet become President. While still a boy we found him fighting under Sumter at Hanging Rock, and during the Revolution he was captured and imprisoned by the British. After that struggle was ended he studied law and removed to Tennessee. He was a member of Congress both in the House and in the Senate, but his talents were better fitted for military action, and his services in the War of 1812 were brilliant. His iron will that brooked no opposition showed itself in his invasion of Florida and the execution of the two Englishmen in 1818. He was of strong character, determined, unpolished, but thoroughly honest and

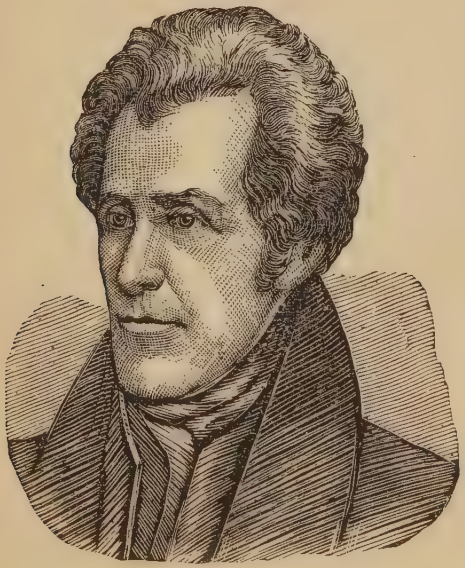
incorruptible. He invariably aimed to pursue what he considered the best course, and no obstacle swerved him from his purpose. These characteristics had gained for him the *sobriquet* of "Old Hickory," and the people either loved him warmly or opposed him bitterly.

Jackson gave his own character to the administration. He instructed our minister to England to "ask nothing but what is right; submit to nothing wrong." He removed more public officials in one month than his predecessors had done in forty years, and he filled their places with his political friends, believing that the affairs of the government would best be carried on in this way. He also used the veto power more freely than any President had so far attempted.

Jackson soon showed a strong opposition to the United States Bank, which institution he believed to be unconstitutional, and at the same time to be worse than useless. The second charter was to expire in 1836, and in his first annual message the President advised that the charter should not be renewed. But Congress held different opinions, and in 1832 passed a bill for prolonging the existence of the bank. Jackson vetoed the bill, and the necessary majority of two-thirds could not be procured in Congress to pass it over his veto. The bank therefore ceased to exist in 1836 as a national institution, though the state of Pennsylvania afterward rechartered it.

The feeling of insecurity in financial circles which arose in prospect of the discontinuance of the United States Bank was further increased in 1833. Jackson ordered the removal from the bank of the government funds, amounting to nearly $10,000,000. There was a fierce discussion in Congress over this act, and the Senate actually passed a vote of censure on the President, which stood for four years on its records till it was expunged by a vote. But the House of Representa-

tives supported him, and unmoved by the public clamor and charges of illegal and arbitrary action, Jackson pursued his plan. In the course of a few months the funds were removed and distributed on deposit among the state banks. As a result of the unsettled nature of the financial question, the busi-



ANDREW JACKSON.

ness of the country was much depressed in 1833–34. But the state banks loaned freely the government funds which had been deposited with them, and prosperity came once more for a time.

The tariff question assumed threatening proportions in 1832. In the spring of that year a bill was

passed in Congress increasing the duties on imported merchandise. South Carolina at once took decided steps in opposition to this measure. A state convention was called which declared the act unconstitutional and therefore null and void. It advised that the collection of duties at the port of Charleston should be resisted by arms if necessary. The state legislature indorsed the action of the convention, and a conflict of force seemed probable.

Jackson, however, acting with his natural promptitude and energy, issued a proclamation in which he denied the right of any state to nullify an act of Congress. He followed this up by sending a man-of-war to Charleston and ordering General Scott there with troops. These active measures were sufficient to prevent the threatened danger. In the spring of 1833 the excitement was finally quieted by a bill proposed and carried through by Henry Clay, which provided for a gradual reduction of the duties during the next ten years.

Serious troubles with the Indians in the west and south occurred during this administration. The savages refused to leave the lands which they had ceded many years before in Illinois, and the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, led by Black Hawk, took up arms. In 1832 General Atkinson advanced against the Indians with regulars and the Illinois militia, and after gaining several victories over them, captured Black Hawk. The chieftain was taken to Washington and other cities in the east, and he saw the impossibility of contending successfully with a people so numerous and powerful.

Difficulties also arose, as in the previous administration, with the Indians of Georgia and from much the same cause. The Cherokees still occupied lands which were claimed by Georgia, and the legislature passed an act encroaching on their rights. The Su-

preme Court of the United States declared the act unconstitutional. The Indians appealed to the President for protection, but he refused to interfere. The Indian Territory was set apart for their occupation in 1834, and General Scott was finally sent to remove them by force if necessary. The peaceful Cherokees still hesitated to leave their homes, but several years later Scott persuaded them to go quietly, and the difficulty was finally settled by 1838.

A still graver difficulty occurred with the Seminoles of Florida, which was not settled without bloodshed. This also arose from an attempt to remove the Indians beyond the Mississippi. Hostilities began in 1835. Osceola, the chief of the Seminoles, together with Micanopy, another sachem, refused to recognize a treaty previously made by some of the chiefs agreeing to a removal. General Thompson was sent to Florida by the government, and he arrested Osceola and put him in irons. The Indian then assented to the treaty and was released, but his haughty spirit had been wounded and he at once commenced a struggle for revenge. His cunning, activity, and bravery prolonged the conflict for several years.

General Clinch was stationed at this time at Fort Drane. Major Dade was dispatched to his relief from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay. On the 28th of December, 1835, he fell into an ambush with over a hundred men, and not more than four escaped massacre. On the same day Osceola, with a small band of Indians, surprised General Thompson and a few friends who were dining in a store-house just outside the walls of Fort King. Thompson was riddled with bullets and several of his friends were killed. Osceola scalped his victims and escaped with his warriors before the massacre was known at the fort.

On the last day of the year General Clinch fought a battle with the Indians on the Withlacoochie, and

on the 29th of February, 1836, General Gaines fought at the same place. In both engagements the Indians were repulsed, but not without loss to the troops. Some Creeks who still remained in the east took up arms and committed many depredations in Georgia and Alabama. General Scott, who was now in command of the United States troops, prosecuted the war with vigor, and the Creeks were subdued and removed beyond the Mississippi. In October, 1836, Governor Call, of Florida, marched against the Seminoles with 2,000 men, and the next month fought a fierce battle with about 500 Indians in Wahoo Swamp, not far from the scene of Dade's massacre. Neither side could claim a decisive victory, but the Indians withdrew into the Everglades. Another battle, also indecisive, was fought later on at nearly the same spot, but the war extended into the next administration.

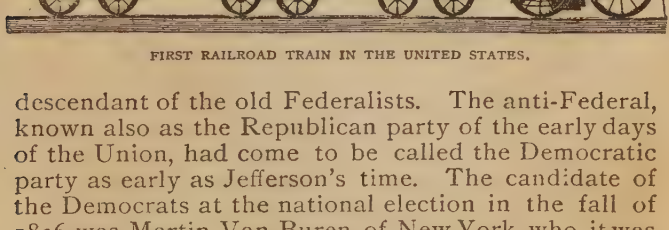
In the fall of 1832 Jackson had been re-elected. Calhoun, who had resigned before the expiration of his term of office to enter the Senate as an opponent of the President, was replaced in the Vice-Presidency by Martin Van Buren.

In 1834 trouble arose with France which terminated favorably for the United States through Jackson's firm policy. The French government had agreed to pay $5,000,000 to satisfy the claims of the United States for injuries done to its commerce during the time of Napoleon. Payment was delayed till the President assumed a hostile tone and ordered the American minister to leave France. This vigorous policy caused France to speedily fulfill her promise, and Portugal was in a similar way made to pay our claims.

During Jackson's term of office two ex-Presidents died—Monroe in 1831 and Madison in 1836. On the 16th of December, 1835, a fire broke out in New York City, by which 529 buildings and property to the

amount of about $20,000,000 were destroyed. In June, 1836, Arkansas became a state, and in January, 1837, Michigan was admitted to the Union. In 1830 the first locomotive was built in the United States, and the Baltimore and Ohio, the first passenger railroad, was opened for fifteen miles in the same year.

The old political parties of the nation, which had not for some time previously been strongly marked, during Jackson's administration crystallized into permanent forms. The Whig party, under the able leadership of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, was the



FIRST RAILROAD TRAIN IN THE UNITED STATES.

descendant of the old Federalists. The anti-Federal, known also as the Republican party of the early days of the Union, had come to be called the Democratic party as early as Jefferson's time. The candidate of the Democrats at the national election in the fall of 1836 was Martin Van Buren, of New York, who, it was understood, would continue Jackson's policy. He was elected by a large majority over the Whig candidate, General Harrison. No one received a majority of votes in the electoral college for the office of Vice-President, and the Senate accordingly chose Colonel Richard M. Johnson, also a Democrat, of Kentucky, to fill that office.

CHAPTER L.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION—1837–1841.

Sketch of Van Buren—Speculation—The Specie Circular—Distribution of the national surplus—The panic of 1837—Many banks suspend specie payment—An extraordinary session of Congress called—Treasury-notes authorized—The Independent Treasury Bill—Continuance of the Seminole War—Osceola captured—His death—The Seminoles removed to the west—Insurrection in Canada—New Yorkers assist the insurrectionists—General Scott quiets the disturbance—The sixth census—An exciting Presidential campaign—Harrison and Tyler elected.

Martin Van Buren was of Dutch descent. Born at Kinderhook, New York, in December, 1782, he was in his fifty-fifth year at the time of his inauguration, on March 4, 1837. He had for many years been the leader of the Democratic party in his native state and had held the office of governor. He had also been a United States Senator, Secretary of State during part of Jackson's first term, and Vice-President during his second term.

In 1837, the first year of Van Buren's administration, occurred a disastrous panic. The distribution of the national funds in the United States Bank made under Jackson's orders to various state banks led to a large increase in their issues of paper money, and their free loans of money increased the speculative spirit among the people. Real estate was the particular subject of their mania, and Jackson, previous to the expiration of his term of office, had instructed the land-agents to receive only specie in

payment for the public lands. By this famous Specie Circular the government was protected against loss from the depreciation of the currency, but it hastened the inevitable result. The banks were suddenly called on for large quantities of specie, and many of them were forced to suspend payment. Moreover, Congress

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

had authorized the distribution of a surplus of nearly $40,000,000 which then existed in the treasury among the various states. The banks of deposit, after the 1st of January, 1837, were called on for the national funds in their possession, and many of these favored banks were also broken.

The result was wide-spread financial ruin. During the months of March and April, 1837, the failures in New York City alone amounted to more than $100,000,000. Early in May a committee of bankers and merchants from that city waited on the President and requested that he rescind the Specie Circular and call a special session of Congress to adopt some plan of relief. The President refused their petitions, and immediately the banks of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities suspended specie payment. Several of the states also were unable to pay their debts, and even the national government was embarrassed.

Van Buren was now obliged to convene Congress in an extraordinary session, which commenced in the early part of September, 1837. But little was accomplished except the passage of a bill authorizing the issue of treasury-notes not to exceed $10,000,000. Van Buren suggested the establishment of a subtreasury system, and the Senate passed the Independent Treasury Bill. It failed to pass in the House, however, and did not become a law till 1840. But in the meantime the business of the country revived in large measure, and in 1838 most of the banks resumed specie payment, though the effects of the panic were long felt.

The Seminole War continued in the south. General Jessup had succeeded Scott in command of the United States forces. A treaty was signed by several chiefs two days after Van Buren's inauguration which promised peace, but Osceola and others still remained in arms. In October Osceola and a band of warriors came to Jessup's camp under a flag of truce. They were imprisoned and their brave leader was sent to Fort Moultrie, where he died of a fever the next year. On Christmas day, 1837, Colonel Zachary Taylor fought a severe battle at Lake Okeechobee with those

Indians who still held out. He lost over 100 men, but defeated the Indians, and for over a year pursued them through the swamps. In May, 1839, another treaty was signed, but it was not till 1842 that peace was finally secured by General Worth. Then the Indians were sent to the west, and the seven-years' struggle ended. It had cost many lives and added a large sum to the national debt.

An insurrection that occurred in Canada in 1837 threatened trouble between the United States and Great Britain. The people of the United States, and especially those in the north, sympathized with the revolt, and many of them joined the forces of the insurgents. A party of 700 men from New York fortified Navy Island, in the Niagara River, and held that place against the Canadian Royalists. The latter, however, succeeded in firing the *Caroline*, a supply-steamer of the New Yorkers, and she was sent burning over Niagara Falls. The President issued a proclamation of neutrality, and dispatched a force under General Scott, who quieted the disturbance. For several years, however, the relations between our government and that of Great Britain were strained.

The census of 1840 showed that the population of the country had increased to over 17,000,000. During the last ten years the growth of the United States had been westward, and the center of population had moved fifty-five miles in that direction, and was now at Clarksburg, West Virginia.

The national election that was to determine the next President occurred in the fall of 1840. It was one of the most bitter campaigns which our country has ever been through. Van Buren was renominated by the Democracy, and their choice for Vice-President was divided between Richard M. Johnson and James K. Polk. The Whigs put in the field General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, and John Tyler,

of Virginia. A Democratic journal cast a sneer at Harrison that was turned to good account by the Whigs. It was said that Harrison would sit down content for life in a log-cabin if he had a pension of a few hundred dollars and a barrel of hard cider. The west grew enthusiastic over their log-cabin candidate. Log cabins became the symbols of victory, and hard cider was more than a symbol. In remembrance of Harrison's successful battle in the War of 1812, the campaign-cry of the Whigs was "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The log-cabin-and-hard-cider campaign resulted in a sweeping victory for the Whigs. Harrison received 234 electoral votes, and Tyler was also elected. Van Buren had but 60 votes in the electoral college, and the Democratic party lost the control of the government which it had held for many years. Van Buren's administration had been held responsible for all the financial depression which marked its commencement, but which was in reality a legacy from Jackson's conduct of the government.

CHAPTER LI.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER—1841–1845.

Sketch of Harrison—His death—Tyler becomes President—Special session of Congress—Tyler vetoes bills for renewing the charter of the United States Bank—The Cabinet officers, except Webster, resign—The Ashburton Treaty with England—The "Dorr Rebellion" in Rhode Island—Land troubles in New York—The Mormons—Utah Territory settled—Texas secures independence from Mexico—Asks admittance to the Union—Northern and southern views of the question—Polk and Dallas elected—A bill passed and signed for the annexation of Texas—Florida admitted to the Union—Morse and the telegraph.

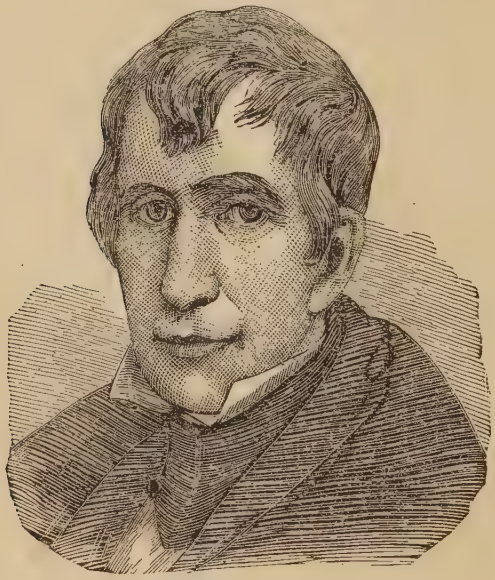
William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia in February, 1773. He was thus somewhat over fifty-eight years of age on assuming the Presidential office on the 4th of March, 1841. He had entered the army in 1791, had been governor of Indiana Territory, and active in the War of 1812. At the close of that struggle he had retired to his home in Ohio, and afterward served as a Senator of the United States.

Harrison selected an able Cabinet, prominent in which was the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster. He also called an extraordinary session of Congress to legislate on subjects of finance. But before Congress could convene the President fell sick and, after a short illness, died on the 4th of April. It was the first time in our history that such an event had occurred..

In accordance with the Constitution, John Tyler took

the oath of office on the 6th of April and became President. He was born in Virginia in 1790, and was called to the highest position in the nation at the age of fifty-one. He retained all the Cabinet as appointed by Harrison.

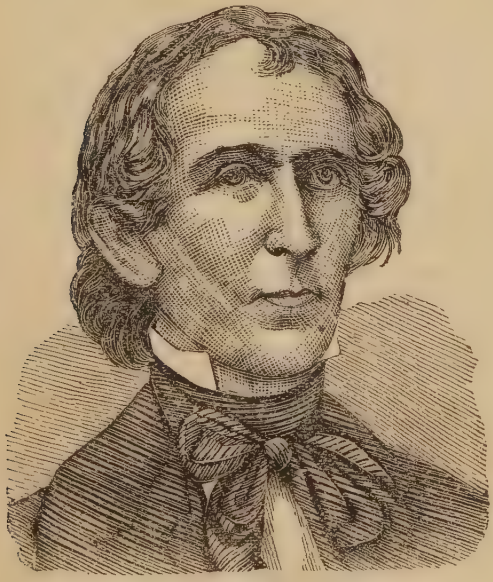
The special session of Congress commenced in May



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

and lasted till September. The Sub-Treasury Bill was repealed, and a general bankrupt law was passed which relieved many honorable men whom financial disaster had overtaken. The Whigs then succeeded in passing a bill for renewing the charter of the United States Bank. Tyler had been the candidate of this

party, but held Jackson's opinion in regard to the bank. He therefore vetoed the bill. Another bill with the same purpose in view, though modified in form, was passed by both houses, but met with a like fate at the President's hands. A two-thirds majority could not be obtained in Congress to pass the bill over



JOHN TYLER.

his veto, and the Whigs assailed the President bitterly. Every member of his Cabinet, except the Secretary of State, resigned.

Daniel Webster remained at his post for the purpose of concluding certain delicate negotiations which were pending with Great Britain. The discussion

concerned the northern boundaries of the United States, especially in the northeast, which had been a matter of dispute ever since the treaty of 1783. Difficulties arising from this question had at times even jeopardized our peaceful relations with England. In 1842 the latter nation sent Lord Ashburton to this country, and he negotiated a treaty with Daniel Webster. It fixed definitely the northeastern boundary of the United States as it now stands, and the northern limits of our country were traced as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The boundary beyond that point was not permanently settled till four years later. The Treaty of Washington, generally called the Ashburton Treaty, was signed on the 9th of August, 1842, ratified by the Senate on the 20th of the same month, and proclaimed by the President on the 10th of November.

In the same year serious trouble began in Rhode Island. That state was still ruled under the charter granted by Charles II. in 1663, by which the right of suffrage depended on a property qualification. A convention was called and a new constitution framed, which, it was claimed, was ratified by the people. Under this constitution the "Suffrage party" chose Thomas W. Dorr as governor. In May, 1842, Dorr attempted to assume the government, but was opposed by the "Law and Order party," led by Governor King. Both sides took up arms and the Dorr party were twice dispersed, without bloodshed, partly by the aid of national troops. Another convention was called by the legislature, which proposed a constitution that was ratified by the people and went into effect in May, 1843. Dorr was arrested and convicted on a charge of treason. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but was afterward pardoned and restored to full citizenship. This disturbance is known as the "Dorr Rebellion."

Trouble also arose during Tyler's administration in New York. It grew out of the refusal of the farmers in certain counties to continue the payment of a nominal rent to the descendants of the old patroons. The farmers who continued the payments were tarred and feathered, and armed resistance was offered to the public officers. It was some years before quiet was completely restored. The State Constitution of 1846 abolished all feudal tenures.

The year 1842 marked the completion, and the following year saw the dedication of Bunker Hill Monument, in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The cornerstone had been laid on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, June 17, 1825, by Lafayette.

Several years before this time the Mormon religion had been founded by Joseph Smith, who pretended to have discovered a new divine revelation written on golden plates, which he asserted he had unearthed in New York State. One of the tenets of the "Church of Latter Day Saints" teaches the doctrine of polygamy. Smith gathered a company of followers and went to Ohio. Driven thence, they proceeded to Missouri, and next to Illinois, where they founded the town of Nauvoo. Here their numbers increased to 10,000, and they defied the laws of the state. Finally Smith and his brother were arrested and imprisoned. In June, 1844, a mob broke into the jail and killed the prisoners. Other violent acts occurred directed against the Mormons, and in 1846 some of them removed to the west. The main body reached the Great Salt Lake in 1848, and thus Utah Territory had its origin.

During the last year of Tyler's administration the attention of the nation was attracted to the southwest by the question of admitting the republic of Texas as a state. The country which now comprises the state of that name had been under the control of

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.

Mexico for some years, but in 1820 Moses Austin, of Connecticut, obtained a grant of land, and two years later his son Stephen settled some colonists there, who soon increased in numbers. In 1835 the province proclaimed its independence. In the first battle 500 Texans defeated twice their number of Mexicans. In the spring of 1836 the Texan fort of Alamo was captured by a large force of Mexicans under President Santa Anna and the garrison cruelly massacred. But soon a final battle was fought at San Jacinto and the independence of Texas was secured. Before the close of Jackson's administration the United States had recognized the new government.

Texas at once asked to be admitted as a state of the Union. Van Buren opposed granting the request, for fear of a war with Mexico. In the latter part of Tyler's administration the question again came up. The population of Texas was over 200,000, and its territory was five times as large as Pennsylvania. The south naturally favored the annexation, because of the increased area and political strength that would be devoted to the cause of slavery if Texas were a state. For the same reason the north opposed the scheme. The one section of the country controlled the Democratic party, the other the Whig party; and the national election that occurred in the fall of 1844 was preceded by a bitter campaign. The Democracy put in nomination James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and Richard M. Dallas; the Whigs selected Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen. The former triumphed.

During the session of Congress that extended through the winter of 1844–45 the question of annexing Texas was hotly debated. Finally a bill providing for its annexation was carried, and President Tyler gave his assent on March 1st.

The day before Tyler's term expired he also signed the bills for the admission of Florida and Iowa, but

the latter did not become a member of the Union till 1846. In 1844 the first electric telegraph line in the world was established between Baltimore and Washington. Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, of Massachusetts, had invented the telegraph as early as 1832, but it was not until eleven years later that he obtained an appropriation from Congress of $30,000 for the construction of this line. The principle of the telegraph had been known long before Morse commenced his experiments, but he was the first to make the invention of practical use.

CHAPTER LII.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—1845–1849—THE MEXICAN WAR.

Sketch of Polk—Texas admitted to the Union—Disputes with Mexico—Hostilities commence—Fort Brown attacked—The Mexicans are defeated at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—Fort Brown relieved—Receipt of the news in the United States—Plans for prosecuting the war—Monterey captured by the Americans—An armistice—Santa Anna—Pamlico captured by the Americans—Kearney in New Mexico—Fremont and others in California—Doniphan's brilliant march—Scott's invasion of Mexico—Taylor's victory at Buena Vista—Scott captures Vera Cruz—His victory at Cerro Gordo—Perote and Puebla taken—Campaign around the City of Mexico—The 20th of August—Molino del Rey and Chapultepec captured—Scott enters the City of Mexico—Final endeavors of Santa Anna—A treaty of peace—Its provisions—Controversy with England—"Fifty-four forty or fight"—The "gold-fever of '49"—Deaths of Jackson and Adams—Wisconsin admitted to the Union—The Cabinet—The "Wilmot Proviso"—Election of Taylor and Fillmore.

James K. Polk was born in North Carolina in November, 1795, and was in his fiftieth year when inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. None of his predecessors had achieved this honor till several years later in life. While still a boy he had accompanied his father to Tennessee, where he had grown up. He had represented his state in Congress for fourteen years, and had been Speaker of the House. Previous to his election as President he had been governor of Tennessee. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was selected as Secretary of State.

On the 4th of July, 1845, a convention in Texas approved of the annexation, and a new state was added to the Union. Difficulties soon followed with Mexico. That country had already committed depredations on American commerce in the Gulf of Mexico and had plundered American merchants within her borders; but the annexation of Texas brought the matter to a head. Mexico claimed that the Nueces River was the southwestern border of Texas, while that state claimed to extend to the Rio Grande. For the protection of our interests, General Zachary Taylor was ordered with an army of occupation to take a position as near as possible to the Rio Grande. Taylor established a camp at Corpus Christi, on the Nueces, in September, 1845. Meanwhile the Mexican minister at Washington had demanded his passports and left the country.

In January of 1846 Taylor was ordered to advance to the Rio Grande, as negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute had been rejected by Mexico. Taylor began his forward movement in March, and after establishing a post of supplies at Point Isabel, on the gulf, he proceeded to the Rio Grande and built a fort, afterward named Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras.

Meanwhile the Mexican army had begun to gather on their northern frontier, and Taylor had been warned that he was encroaching on Mexican soil. General Ampudia demanded his immediate withdrawal, but Taylor remained and strengthened his defenses. On the 24th of April General Arista arrived and took command of the Mexican forces. Two days later the Americans were notified that hostilities had commenced, and on the same day the first blood was shed in the war. Captain Thornton, with a small body of troops, was attacked by the Mexicans east of the Rio Grande, and after losing sixteen men was obliged to surrender.

The Mexicans meanwhile had menaced Point Isabel. Taylor marched to that post with the body of his army, leaving a small garrison with Major Brown, in whose honor the fort was named. The Mexicans on the 3d of May commenced a heavy bombardment of the post, which was bravely defended. Taylor

JAMES K. POLK.

reached Point Isabel in safety, and almost immediately set out on his march back to the relief of Fort Brown with about 2,000 men. At noon on the 8th of May 6,000 Mexicans, under Arista, were encountered at Palo Alto, and a severe battle occurred. After a five-hours' contest, in which the American artillery

did splendid work, the enemy withdrew. Their loss was much heavier than our own.

The next day Taylor proceeded toward Fort Brown, but before reaching that post he again encountered the Mexicans, who had been re enforced, at a place called Resaca de la Palma. The Mexicans made a better fight than on the previous day, but were finally defeated with severe loss, and their general, La Vega, was captured. The Mexican army was shattered and fled across the Rio Grande. Fort Brown was relieved after its gallant defense, in which, however, Major Brown had been mortally wounded.

When the news of the first bloodshed reached Washington, the President announced to Congress that Mexico "had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil." Congress replied by placing at his disposal $10,000,000 and authorizing him to accept 50,000 volunteers. The news of the two battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma kindled the greatest enthusiasm among the people of the United States, and volunteers were numerous. To General Wool was given the work of disciplining the new recruits, with his headquarters at San Antonio, Texas. Meanwhile a gigantic plan had been formed of carrying on the war. A fleet was to be sent around Cape Horn to attack the Pacific coast of Mexico, one army was to march through New Mexico to California, another was to advance from Matamoras, and a third was to invade Mexico from the north.

A few days after the relief of Fort Brown Taylor had crossed the Rio Grande and occupied Matamoras. The Mexicans fell back to Monterey. Taylor waited for re-enforcements till August, when he sent forward General William J. Worth with an advance detachment and soon followed himself with the remainder of

the army. He commanded in all somewhat over 6,000 men. He arrived in the neighborhood of Monterey on the 19th of September, and two days later commenced an active siege of the town, which was strongly fortified and defended by about 10,000 men under General Ampudia. From the 21st to the 23d of the month vigorous assaults were made; the outposts were carried by storm and the United States troops fought their way into the streets of the city. Sharpshooters climbed to the flat roofs of the houses and poured a murderous fire on the Mexicans below. Finally the city was surrendered on the morning of September 24th. The Mexicans were allowed to march out with the honors of war.

Taylor agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, during which the Mexicans continued their warlike preparations. Their famous General Santa Anna, who had been in exile, had been recalled and made President, and he soon took the field at the head of a large army. The United States government disapproved of the armistice, and on the 15th of November General Worth moved forward and occupied Saltillo. Taylor advanced to capture Pamlico, on the Gulf of Mexico, but at Victoria he halted on learning that the objective point of his attack had surrendered on the 14th of November to an American squadron under Captain Connor. General Worth near Saltillo was joined by General Wool on the 20th of December, and so affairs stood in this quarter at the close of 1846.

While these events were occurring in the south, General Kearney, with the army of the west, had advanced from Fort Leavenworth in June. He reached and took possession of Santa Fé; the Mexican troops fled at his approach and New Mexico submitted. Kearney appointed a governor of the territory, and with 400 men continued his march to California, but he was soon met with the news of the conquest of

that region. He sent back the larger part of his force and continued with 100 men.

Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fremont, at the commencement of the war with Mexico, was engaged in exploring the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. When he heard that the struggle was impending, he rallied the American pioneers in California to his standard and gained several successes over the Mexicans. Commodore Sloat, with the American fleet, captured Monterey, on the California coast, and later Commodore Stockton, assuming command, took possession of San Diego. Then the land and naval forces joined in capturing Los Angeles on the 17th of August. In the latter part of the year Kearney arrived, and a final outbreak of the Mexicans was suppressed on the 8th of January, 1847, at San Gabriel. The conquest was complete. Disputes, however, arose between Fremont and Kearney, the superior officer, as to the governorship of the territory. Fremont was ordered home and tried for disobedience of orders. The sentence of dismissal from the service was revoked by President Polk, but Fremont refused to receive his commission again.

Meanwhile Colonel Doniphan, who had been left in command of the American forces in New Mexico, commenced a brilliant exploit. With less than 1,000 men he marched southward, subdued the Indians, fought a successful battle against a much superior force of Mexicans at Bracito in the latter part of December, gained another victory at Sacramento Creek on February 28, 1847, against overwhelming odds, took possession of Chihuahua, a city of 40,000 inhabitants, in March, and joined General Wool at Saltillo in May. He had made a victorious march of nearly 1,000 miles through the enemy's country.

At the beginning of 1847 General Scott arrived in Mexico to commence an invasion of the country.

With this purpose in view he was obliged to order a large part of Taylor's army to join him on the gulf. This command was as unpleasant for the one general as it was mortifying to the other, but it was necessary and was at once obeyed.

Taylor united his depleted forces and those of General Wool, and with about 5,000 men took a strong position at Buena Vista, a few miles south of Saltillo. On the 22d of February an army of 20,000 Mexicans drew near. Their commander, Santa Anna, demanded an immediate surrender, assuring the American general that he could expect nothing better than a rout if he should give battle. Taylor at once refused to comply with the Mexican demand. On the morning of the 23d the enemy hurled themselves on the American right and center, only to be repulsed. They gained a temporary advantage on the left, but were soon driven back. Charge after charge met with no greater success. The American artillery and cavalry did noble work. The battle lasted all day, and during the night the Mexicans withdrew. Their loss amounted to nearly 2,000. The American loss, though severe, was not so great, amounting to 746 men. Taylor soon returned to the United States and was warmly received by the people.

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

General Scott began the invasion of Mexico on the 9th of March, 1847, by landing near Vera Cruz. The town was strongly fortified and defended by the island Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, which the Mexicans

considered almost impregnable. Scott had an army of about 12,000 men, and the co-operation of a fleet under Commodore Connor. The city was soon invested, and a demand for its surrender having been refused, a fierce cannonade was commenced on the 22d of March. For four days the bombardment was continued, the Mexicans replying with energy and some effect, but on the 27th the city and castle surrendered, with 5,000 prisoners and 500 pieces of artillery.

Two days after the surrender Scott entered the city, and on the 8th of April General Twiggs led the American advance into the interior. The Mexicans, 12,000 strong, blocked the road at Cerro Gordo. Here Santa Anna had taken a strong position in a mountain pass. Scott had followed and joined Twiggs, and on the 18th of April an attack was made by the inferior forces of the Americans. The heights were taken by storm and the Mexicans utterly routed, with the loss of 1,000 men, besides many prisoners, arms, and equipments. The American loss was 431.

The next day our forces entered the city of Jalapa, and on the 22d of the month they took possession unopposed of the Castle of Perote, on a peak of the Cordilleras. On the 15th of May Scott occupied, without resistance, the considerable city of Puebla. Here he paused awhile for re-enforcements, and negotiations were opened to secure peace, but the Mexican government would not yield.

Scott received his re-enforcements during the summer, and in the early part of August he advanced once more with about 10,000 men. He crossed the heights of the Cordilleras, from which he gazed at the beautiful and fertile valley in which the City of Mexico lay, surrounded by lakes and by rocky hills which were strongly fortified. The army reached Ayotla, within fifteen miles of the capital. It was

determined to attack the capital on its weakest side, the south and west. A *détour* was therefore made around Lake Chalco, and the Americans reached San Augustine. Thence the road led on causeways over the marshes to the City of Mexico, and was defended by the strong fortifications of Cherubusco and Chapultepec. On the left of the road was the fortified camp of Contreras, and defenses at San Antonio and Molino del Rey. General Santa Anna was in command of the Mexican army, numbering 30,000 men, who guarded the city.

The 20th of August was made memorable by five victories for the United States troops. Early in the morning General Smith, after an engagement of less than twenty minutes, drove General Valencia from Contreras and occupied the camp. General Worth assaulted and gained possession of San Antonio; then, in company with General Pillow, he carried one of the heights of Cherubusco, and General Twiggs secured the other. In the meantime Generals Pierce and Shields had held Santa Anna and his reserves in check. The American army, with a loss of 1,100 men, had inflicted on an enemy of triple their number a loss of 4,000 in killed and wounded and 3,600 in prisoners.

The next day the Mexicans asked for an armistice, which Scott granted in the hope of peace. But the proposals for peace were rejected and Santa Anna, in violation of the armistice, strengthened the defenses of the city. Scott determined to renew hostilities. Early on the morning of the 8th of September General Worth attacked Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, a group of stone buildings which defended Chapultepec on the west. He led less than 4,000 Americans in a desperate assault on 14,000 Mexicans, and though at first driven back, finally carried the positions. It was done, however, with the loss of nearly 800 men.

The loss of the enemy numbered 200 more than our own.

On the 12th of the month a heavy bombardment was commenced on Chapultepec itself, and the next day the citadel was carried by storm. The Mexicans fled to the city and were pursued to its very walls. That night Santa Anna and the officers of the government fled from the city with the army. Early the next morning, the 14th of September, 1847, Scott entered the capital of Mexico, and the stars and stripes were unfurled over the Halls of the Montezumas.

The successful result of this brilliant campaign virtually ended the war. There was only one subsequent event of importance. Santa Anna, when he abandoned the City of Mexico, went to Puebla, which place had already been besieged by the Mexicans. Major Childs had been left at this place in charge of about 1,800 sick men. He made a brave defense with his small garrison and was soon relieved by General Lane, who was advancing with re-enforcements for Scott. Santa Anna was attacked and driven away in the latter part of September. Once more in the next month he was defeated, and now his troops deserted him. Santa Anna became a fugitive. The military power of Mexico was thoroughly broken. In an aggressive campaign on foreign soil the United States troops had gained a series of brilliant victories, often against double or quadruple their number.

On the 2d of February, 1848, commissioners from the United States and the Mexican Congress signed a treaty of peace at Guadalupe Hidalgo. Both governments ratified the agreement, and on the 4th of July, 1848, President Polk proclaimed peace. The treaty not only settled the southwestern boundary of Texas at the Rio Grande, as our government had claimed, but it gave us New Mexico and California. In return the United States was to withdraw its troops from

Mexico, and in consideration for the ceded territory was to pay into the Mexican treasury $15,000,000, besides assuming debts due from Mexico to American citizens not to exceed $3,500,000. So ended the Mexican War.

This conflict naturally occupies the chief place in Polk's administration, but there are other events which deserve mention. The United States had for many years claimed that Oregon extended to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude. England, on the other hand, asserted that the forty-ninth degree was the true boundary. Since 1827 the people of both nations had by a mutual understanding occupied the disputed territory in common; but in 1846 our government gave notice of the termination of the agreement. A treaty signed at Washington in June, 1846, settled our northwestern boundary at the forty-ninth parallel and gave Vancouver's Island to England. During the controversy attending the settlement of this question the famous cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight" was adopted by those who disapproved of yielding our claims. In 1853 the northern part of Oregon was separated under the name of Washington Territory.

It was in the month of February, 1848, that gold was discovered in California on the American fork of the Sacramento River. Similar discoveries were made in other places. The news spread over the country, and in a few months emigrants from the States, from Europe, from South America, from Asia, were making their way by land and sea to the gold-fields. The "gold-fever of '49" aided vastly in building up our Pacific slope. The population of California at the close of the Mexican War was about 15,000; four years later it numbered 264,000.

In 1845 General Jackson died, and three years later John Quincy Adams also passed away. In 1848 Wis-

consin was admitted to the Union as the thirtieth state. Before the close of Polk's administration an addition was made to the President's Cabinet of the Home Department, afterward called the Department of the Interior. This completed the Cabinet as it exists today, composed of the heads of seven departments. Its members are known as the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, and the Postmaster-General and Attorney-General.

In 1846 David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, proposed a bill in Congress prohibiting slavery in the territory which might be gained from Mexico in the war then commencing. This "Wilmot Proviso," as it was called, was defeated, but its supporters formed the Free-soil party.

In the national election that occurred in the fall of 1848, an ex-President, Martin Van Buren, was nominated by this new party. The contest lay principally, however, between the other two candidates in the field—General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, the choice of the Democrats, and General Zachary Taylor, of Kentucky, the nominee of the Whigs. The war record of the latter had made him very popular, and he was elected, with Millard Fillmore, of New York, as Vice-President.

CHAPTER LIII.

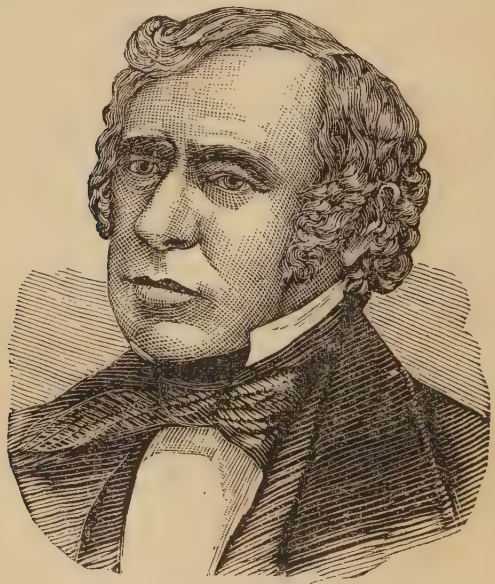
ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE—1849–1853.

Sketch of Taylor—California asks admission as a state—The slavery question revived—The "Omnibus Bill"—Death of Taylor—Fillmore becomes President—The Omnibus Bill signed—The fugitive-slave law creates ill feeling—Deaths of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster—Filibustering expeditions of Lopez—France and England propose a "Tripartite Treaty"—Edward Everett's reply—Polar expeditions—Louis Kossuth—Dispute concerning the Newfoundland fisheries—Settled in favor of the United States—Election of Pierce and King.

Zachary Taylor, born in November, 1784, was in his sixty-fifth year when inaugurated. The 4th of March, 1849, being a Sunday, the ceremonies did not take place till the next day. Taylor was a Virginian by birth, but while still an infant his father removed to Kentucky. He had gained an enviable military reputation by his services in the War of 1812, the Seminole War, and especially in the war with Mexico.

Taylor's administration saw another crisis in the slavery question, which now became the one absorbing subject of popular agitation and discussion till it was forever settled by arms. The particular event which raised the issue at this time was the application of California for admission as a state. The people of this rapidly growing region had organized a government and adopted a constitution in which slavery was prohibited. The north, of course, favored this application, and the south opposed it. Other

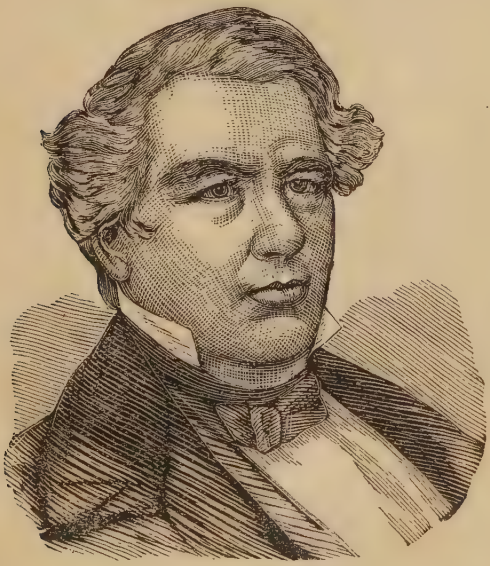
points of difference added to the heat of debate. The south desired a more satisfactory law for the return of slaves escaping to the free states, and the north insisted on the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Moreover, Texas again attracted public attention by her claims to New Mexico.



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Violent public agitation and Congressional debates, accompanied even with threats of secession by the south, resulted finally in a compromise proposed by a senatorial committee of thirteen, of which Henry Clay was chairman. The Compromise Act, which they reported to the Senate in May, 1850, came to be called

the "Omnibus Bill," from the number of separate measures which it embraced. It provided for the admission of California as a free state; for the creation of the territories of Utah and New Mexico without mention of slavery; for the payment of $10,000,000 to Texas in satisfaction of her claims to the latter ter-



MILLARD FILLMORE.

ritory; for the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; and finally for a more rigorous fugitive-slave law.

The debates on this measure lasted till September. It was supported by Clay and other southern leaders, and generally opposed by the north, though Daniel

Webster gave his adherence to it in a memorable speech which was bitterly condemned by many of his former followers. In the midst of the discussion President Taylor died, on the 9th of July, 1850. The next day Millard Fillmore assumed the Presidential chair, in his fifty-first year, having been born in New York in January, 1800. From a humble origin he had risen to eminence in the profession of law and had represented his state in Congress. He appointed a new Cabinet, with Daniel Webster as Secretary of State.

On the 9th of September Clay's Compromise Act passed Congress and received the assent of President Fillmore. The fugitive-slave law especially was fiercely denounced at the north. It was evaded and sometimes resisted, and its enforcement increased the ill feeling between the sections of the country. Fillmore was bitterly assailed by the Whig party, which had elected him, for giving his approval to the measure.

This period witnessed the death of three other distinguished men besides President Taylor. John C. Calhoun died in March, 1850, Henry Clay in June, 1852, and Daniel Webster in October of the same year.

In 1850 General Lopez, a native of Cuba, organized in the United States, in violation of neutrality laws, an expedition to assist the people of his native island in revolting against Spain. In the spring of that year he landed in Cuba, but met with no co-operation, and returned to the United States. In August, 1851, he departed again with 480 followers and landed in Cuba, but his forces were attacked and dispersed by the Spaniards. He and several of his principal followers were captured and executed.

These events naturally enough excited a suspicion in Europe that the United States meditated the annexation of Cuba, though our government disavowed any such intention and punished the officer at New

Orleans by whose negligence the second expedition of Lopez had been permitted. France and England proposed a "Tripartite Treaty" with the United States, by which each party to the contract was to pledge itself now and forever not to attempt the acquisition of Cuba. Edward Everett, then Secretary of State, replied with a masterly paper in December, 1852. He disclaimed any such intention on the part of the United States as was suspected, but asserted, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, that the question was purely an American one, in which our government would not see with indifference any foreign interference.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

In 1850 a rich merchant of New York, Henry Grinnell, fitted out at his own expense two vessels which he sent, under the command of Lieutenant De Haven, on a voyage to the Arctic Ocean. The immediate object of the expedition was to discover some traces of Sir John Franklin, who six years before had sailed from England for these northern latitudes. No tidings had been received of his whereabout during all this time, and none were now obtained. In 1853 the government joined Grinnell in sending Dr. Elisha Kent Kane on a similar search. Kane and his men suffered severely and were forced to abandon their ships. They were finally brought home by a relief expedition in 1855. They had gained much scientific information but did not succeed in finding Franklin, though traces of the latter were afterward discovered.

In the latter part of 1851 Louis Kossuth arrived in the United States. He came to secure assistance in the struggle of the people of Hungary against the tyranny of Austria. The tour of our country which the distinguished patriot made in 1852 called forth the warmest expressions of sympathy and resulted in his obtaining much private assistance for the cause he represented, but the settled policy of our government prevented any official aid.

A little difficulty arose with England in the course of 1852 regarding the Newfoundland fisheries. Our fishing-vessels already possessed the treaty-right of pursuing their vocation beyond a line three miles from shore. Now the question arose whether, as England claimed, that line should be drawn from headland to headland, thus shutting our vessels out of the harbors, or whether, as our government claimed, it should follow the indentations of the coast-line. Both nations sent armed vessels to the locality concerning which the question arose, but in 1854 the dispute was settled favorably to our claims by negotiation.

In the national election which occurred in the fall of 1852, three parties put candidates in the field. They were Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, nominated by the Democrats; General Winfield Scott, by the Whigs, and John P. Hale, by the Free-soil party. The contest resulted in a victory for the Democratic candidates, Pierce and William R. King, of Alabama.

CHAPTER LIV.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION—1853–1857.

Sketch of Pierce—Death of Vice-President King—The "Gadsden Purchase"—A treaty with Japan—The Crystal Palace—Filibustering expeditions of General Walker—Cuban difficulties—The Ostend Manifesto—The Martin Koszta affair—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill—"Squatter Sovereignty"—The slavery issue once more—The bill passes—The struggle in Kansas—Origin of the Republican party—Election of the Democratic candidates, Buchanan and Breckinridge.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce was inaugurated in his forty-ninth year. He was born in New Hampshire, in November, 1804, was graduated from Bowdoin College twenty years later, and pursued the profession of law. He had represented his native state in Congress, both in the House and in the Senate, and had served under Scott in Mexico. He appointed William L. Marcy, of New York, as his Secretary of State. Vice-President King took the oath of office in Cuba, where he was sojourning for his health, but on returning to his home he died on the 18th of April, 1853.

Another dispute had arisen with Mexico, this time concerning the boundary between New Mexico and the province of Chihuahua. Santa Anna, who was again President of Mexico, sent an armed force to the disputed locality, but the quarrel was finally settled by the purchase of the Mexican claims. The region thus acquired, now forming portions of the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, is known as the "Gadsden Purchase," in honor of our representative who

carried on the negotiations. This was in the first year of Pierce's administration. In the same year a party of engineers were sent to explore a route for a railroad to connect the eastern and western portions of our continent.

In the summer of 1853 Commodore Perry, brother of the hero of Lake Erie, arrived in Japan with a squadron of United States vessels. His object was to negotiate a commercial treaty with Japan, which had hitherto kept her ports closed to the vessels of our own and all Christian nations. In the spring of 1854 he succeeded in concluding a treaty by which two Japanese ports were designated as open to American vessels.

On the 14th of July, 1853, the Crystal Palace was opened in New York for a World's Fair. This was the second that had ever been held, the first having been opened two years previously in London. The Crystal Palace, built by private enterprise, was a magnificent structure composed of glass and iron, and contained exhibits from every civilized nation. The building was destroyed by fire in 1858.

In the first year of Pierce's Presidential term a series of events began which did not end till nearly the close of the next administration. These were a number of filibustering expeditions led by General William Walker against the governments of Central America. In 1853 he attacked with a band of followers a town in Lower California, and the next year invaded the state of Sonora, in Mexico. He was taken prisoner and tried by the authorities of San Francisco. Being acquitted, he organized an expedition in 1855 against Nicaragua. He gained several battles, and in the course of the next year became President of the state; but an insurrection occurred, and in the year 1857 he was driven out.

Arriving at New Orleans, he secured other follow-

ers and invaded Nicaragua again. This time he was forced to surrender to Commodore Paulding, of the United States Navy, and was taken as a prisoner to New York. He was liberated by the government, however, and in 1860 he set out on his last filibustering expedition, this time to Honduras. Here he was

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

captured and shot. Thus ended his adventurous career.

In the early part of this administration some difficulties arose with the authorities in Cuba, which again attracted public attention to that island. The President directed our embassadors at London, Paris,

and Madrid, Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, to consult on the best way of settling the Cuban question. They accordingly met at Ostend, in Belgium. Soon they adjourned to Aix-la-Chapelle, whence on the 18th of October, 1854, they addressed a letter to the United States government. This document, which is known as the Ostend Manifesto, advocated the acquisition of Cuba by purchase if possible, but by force if necessary. No practical results, however, followed.

A temporary difficulty occurred with Austria about this time in which the name of Martin Koszta became famous. A few years previously Koszta had been engaged in the Hungarian rebellion against Austria. When the revolt was crushed he came to the United States, where he commenced the steps necessary to secure full citizenship in this country. In 1854 he went to Turkey on business. At Smyrna he was seized and put on an Austrian man-of-war, to be conveyed to Trieste. The representatives of our government demanded his release. Upon a refusal of the demand, Captain Ingraham, commanding the American sloop of war *St. Louis*, cleared his ship for action and threatened to open fire. This had a more potent effect. Koszta was given into the charge of the French consul. The question was then exhaustively discussed in an able correspondence between our Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, and the Austrian minister at Washington, from which the United States emerged triumphant. Koszta was released and returned to the home of his adoption.

Again the question of slavery looms up in all its vast proportions. In January, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, presented a bill in the Senate for the organization of the country lying between Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota on the east and the Pacific territories on the west into the territories of

Kansas and Nebraska. This Kansas-Nebraska Bill, as it was called, was discussed vehemently in Congress, and no less so throughout the country, for it contained the provision that the people of these territories should decide for themselves whether slavery should be prohibited or not—a doctrine that received the name of "Popular," or "Squatter Sovereignty." This was practically a repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by which it was agreed that slavery should be prohibited in this region. Nevertheless the bill passed in Congress, and on the 31st of May, 1854, it received Pierce's assent.

The scene of the struggle was now removed to Kansas. As the question whether Kansas should become a free state or a slave state was to be settled by vote, both parties sent settlers to this region. The adherents of slavery triumphed and organized a government in 1855. But the anti-slavery men charged gross fraud in the election and set up a rival government. The discussion waxed hot; arms were resorted to and frequent conflicts took place between the rival factions.

In the fall of 1856 the President appointed as governor John W. Geary, under whom peace was gradually restored. It was not until January, 1861, however, near the close of Buchanan's administration, that Kansas became a state. When she was admitted to the Union it was as a free state.

The slavery question was the principal line of division in the Presidential election that occurred in the fall of 1856. Out of the remains of the Whig party a new and powerful organization had sprung which was anti-slavery in its sentiments. This was the Republican party, which selected as its candidates John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton. The Democracy was committed to the support of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In its southern section it was thoroughly pro-

slavery, and its northern adherents believed that each territory or state should decide the question of slavery for itself. As representatives of these principles James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, were chosen. A new political organization also appeared in this canvass. The American, or Know-nothing party, chiefly opposed to foreign influence in the affairs of the United States, nominated ex-President Fillmore and A. J. Donelson. After an exciting political campaign, a large majority for the Democratic candidates resulted in the election of Buchanan and Breckinridge. It was during this next administration that the final events preceding the Civil War occurred.

CHAPTER LV.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION—1857–1861.

Sketch of Buchanan—Trouble with the Mormons—The Atlantic cable—Minnesota, Oregon, and Kansas become states—The Dred Scott case—Decision by the Supreme Court—Its effect on the country—Personal-liberty laws passed in the north—"John Brown's Raid"—His execution—Excitement throughout the country—Attack on Senator Sumner—The Democratic convention—Its nomination divided—The other parties—An exciting canvass—Lincoln and Hamlin elected—Effect in the south—South Carolina leads the way in seceding—Ten other states follow—Formation of the Confederate States of America—Jefferson Davis elected President—The national forts in the south seized—Fort Sumter threatened—The *Star of the West* fired on and driven back—Lincoln's journey to Washington—The Civil War at hand.

James Buchanan, born in Pennsylvania on the 13th of April, 1791, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857, at about the age of sixty-six. He had entered the profession of law, had been a member of the House of Representatives and a Senator, had served as minister of the United States to Russia and England, and had been Secretary of State under President Polk.

In the first year of his administration trouble occurred with the Mormons in Utah. Under the governorship of their leader, Brigham Young, the Mormons had opposed the jurisdiction of the federal courts and driven away a judge and other officials. The President determined that the national authority should not be defied in this way. He appointed Alfred Cumming governor of Utah and sent an armed

force into the territory. In October, 1857, the supply-train of the troops was attacked and destroyed by the Mormons, but the next year peace was restored, and after awhile the troops were withdrawn. Utah to-daÁ contains a considerable population, and her frequent applications to be admitted as a state are only denied because of the practice of polygamy, which is upheld by the Mormon Church.

The 5th of August, 1858, marked the completion of the first Atlantic cable, commenced in the previous year. The accomplishment of this great work was largely due to the enterprise of Cyrus W. Field, of New York. After working successfully for a little while a defect in the cable caused an interruption of telegraphic communication, which was not resumed for some years.

In 1858 Minnesota became a state, and the next year Oregon was added to the others. Kansas was admitted as a free state in January, 1861, just before the close of Buchanan's administration, making the thirty-fourth state in the Union.

Slavery, however, occupied the chief attention of the nation during the whole of Buchanan's administration. The excitement already existing was increased a few days after the President's inauguration by the famous Dred Scott Decision. Dred Scott was a negro who had been held in slavery in Missouri. His master removed to the free state of Illinois and afterward to Minnesota, taking Scott with him. The slave had married a wife, whom his master had purchased, and two children were born to the negro couple. On returning to Missouri Scott and his family were sold. He brought suit to recover his freedom on the ground of his residence for some time in free-labor territory. His new master argued in reply that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri and therefore could not bring suit. The first state court of Missouri

before which the case was tried gave a verdict for Scott, but the second reversed this decision. Then the case was taken on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The trial was held before that tribunal in 1854, but the decision was withheld, because of the excited state

JAMES BUCHANAN.

of the country, till after Buchanan's inauguration. Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the court. Six of the Associate Justices concurred and only two, McLean and Curtis, dissented. The court held that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri and therefore was not entitled to bring suit. It further

maintained that negroes were not citizens of the United States and could not become so; that Congress and legislatures had no right to prohibit the holding of slaves; and that therefore the Missouri Compromise and similar measures were unconstitutional and void. This decision was welcomed in the south but bitterly denounced in the north, and it added to the violence of the opposition which the two sections of the country had now assumed toward each other. Its effect was precisely the reverse of quieting the agitation, as Buchanan thought it would do.

Several of the northern states now passed "personal-liberty laws," with the intention of securing the freedom of any slave who might be brought within their borders. Such actions added to the hostility of the south. The bitter feelings were intensified in 1859 by the celebrated "John Brown's Raid." Brown had been one of the leaders of the anti-slavery faction in Kansas, where he had gained the name of "Ossawattomie Brown," from the place at which he had offered armed resistance to the pro-slavery party. He was as brave as a lion and enthusiastic to the point of fanaticism.

Having formed a plan of striking a blow which should rouse the slaves in the southern states to insurrection, Brown, with a force of twenty-two men, five of whom were negroes, seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry. This was on the night of October 16, 1859. He arrested several citizens of the town, but the militia soon gathered and hemmed him in. Shortly United States troops arrived, and after a fierce resistance Brown was wounded and captured, on the 18th of the month. Only two of his band escaped. Thirteen, including two of his sons, were killed or mortally wounded. John Brown, with his six remaining companions, was at once tried and sentenced to be hanged. On the 2d of December he met his death with a brave heart.

Now the sectional animosities of the country were at fever-heat. The south believed that John Brown's action was the result of a northern scheme for liberating the slaves. The struggle in Kansas was also still in progress, and the Free-soil adherents were gaining the upper hand. The north, on the other hand, had been deeply stirred in many ways against the upholders of slavery, and especially by an event which had occurred in May, 1856. Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, had delivered a strong anti-slavery speech, in which he had made some reflections on Senator Butler, of South Carolina. A day or two later, while Sumner was sitting in his seat in the Senate chamber after the adjournment of that body, he was assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, a relative of Butler's and a member of the House of Representatives. Brooks struck the Massachusetts Senator on the head with a heavy cane and inflicted injuries which lasted several years.

The excitement caused by these various events was at its height when the Democratic convention met at Charleston in April, 1860, to nominate its candidates for the coming election. The northern delegates were strongly in favor of nominating Stephen A. Douglas for President, and supported his doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty." The southern delegates did not consider this position favorable enough to the cause of slavery, but seeing that they could not control the convention they withdrew. The remaining members soon adjourned to Baltimore, where in June they nominated Douglas. The seceders went to Richmond and afterward to Baltimore, where, also in June, they selected John C. Breckinridge, the Vice-President at this time, as their candidate for President.

In May the National Constitutional Union party, a new organization, met in Baltimore, adopted as their

motto "The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws," and nominated John Bell. The Republican convention assembled in Chicago in the same month. The party took strong ground against the extension of slavery, and put in nomination Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine.

The canvass was one of intense earnestness and excitement. It resulted in the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. Lincoln received a large plurality of the popular vote, though not an actual majority of all the votes cast. In the electoral college, however, he had a clear majority of 57 over all. All the free states cast their electoral vote for him except New Jersey, and from that state he secured 4 out of her 7 votes. Douglas came next to Lincoln in the popular vote, but Breckinridge was second in the electoral college. The Democratic party was overthrown and did not succeed in returning to power till the election of Grover Cleveland.

The result of Lincoln's election had been foreseen. The South had already declared its purpose of withdrawing from the Union in such an event. It believed, or affected to believe, that when the Republican party came to direct the affairs of the government their power and the strength of their cherished institution of slavery would be diminished. Such a result they would not permit without resistance or secession. The time was opportune. Soon Lincoln would be inaugurated, and a Republican administration would not permit their withdrawal from the nation. Not so at present. Several members of Buchanan's Cabinet were open friends of the southern cause, and the President himself, while he did not admit that any state had a right to secede, still believed that he had not the constitutional power to prevent such an act. The southern states took immediate action.

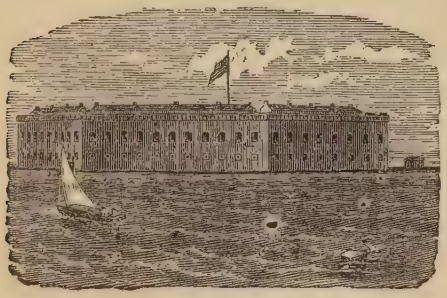
South Carolina led the way. A convention, assembled at Charleston, in that state, on the 20th of December, 1860, declared that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." This example was followed during the month of January, 1861, by other states in the following order: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana. Texas followed on the 1st of February, Virginia in April, Arkansas and North Carolina in May, and Tennessee, making the eleventh seceding state, in June.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from six of these states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a government under the title of the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. Davis was inaugurated as President for the term of six years in 1862. On the same day that marked this organization of the Confederate government a Peace Congress met at Washington, but its proposals met with no practical results. The representatives of the south withdrew from Congress.

The South at once commenced the work of securing the national forts and arsenals which lay within her borders. No resistance was offered. Buchanan, as we have before stated, maintained that he had no constitutional right to interfere before the commencement of actual hostilities. Moreover, our small army

was mostly stationed at frontier posts and our navy was scattered in distant quarters of the globe. The national forces in the south held, of important posts, only Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor; Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, and Fortress Monroe, at the entrance of the Chesapeake. When the Confederate forces gathered in large numbers in Charleston, Major Anderson removed his small garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, where he could better defend himself. The administration made a weak attempt to re-enforce him by sending the steamer *Star of the West* with men and provisions. On the 9th of January, 1861, as she entered Charleston harbor, she was fired on by Confederate batteries and forced to retire.



FORT SUMTER.

It was in this same month of January that Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state while the work of secession was going on in the south. It was a time of intense excitement. Threats had even been made that the President-elect would be assassinated on his journey to the capital; but Lincoln succeeded in passing through Baltimore, where the violence was feared, unnoticed, by a night train, and arrived in Washington on the 23d of February. There he remained till his inauguration.

We now have to narrate the events of an extensive, costly, and bloody war. Its importance makes the

time of its continuance a separate and distinct period in our history. Within a few weeks after Lincoln's inauguration the Civil War commenced with the firing on Fort Sumter.

Fifth Period.

Civil War and Emancipation.

FIFTH PERIOD.

CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION.

CHAPTER LVI.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Slavery the real cause of the Civil War—Its origin in the United States—Its growth—Dies out in the North—But increases in the South—The cotton crop—Views of the founders of the government — The South seeks to control the nation — Pro-slavery legislation—The North at last gains the ascendency—The Abolitionists—The Kansas struggle and John Brown's raid—Threats of secession in previous years—State Rights—Misunderstanding between the North and South—Misapprehension of the extent and character of the coming struggle—The eighth census—Greater population and wealth of the North.

SLAVERY—in one word we may sum up the causes of the Civil War. Not that when hostilities commenced the South and the North proclaimed that they were fighting for and against slavery. The ostensible reason for the struggle was the assertion on the part of the South of the doctrine of State Rights—that any state could at its pleasure nullify an act of the national government and withdraw from the Union. But the growth and maintenance of this doctrine in the south is directly traceable to the influence of slavery in that region of the country, and by briefly tracing the history of slavery in the United States we may readily see its effects.

Thirteen years after the founding of the first permanent English colony in America—that is, in 1620—the first slaves were brought to Jamestown, Virginia. The system of slave-labor existed at one time or another in every one of the thirteen original colonies. In 1790, just after the formation of our present government, there were nearly 700,000 slaves scattered through the various states. Massachusetts was the only state where there were no slaves; but throughout the north there were comparatively few. More than six-sevenths of the whole number were held south of the famous Mason and Dixon's line, which separated Pennsylvania from Maryland. The prevalence of slavery in this section of the country was partly due to the character of the settlers, who were less energetic than those of the north, and also largely to the influence of the warm climate, which increased their natural indolence and at the same time made it somewhat dangerous for white men to work in the fields and swamps. The natives of Africa could endure the heat of the sun with less discomfort.

In 1793 an event occurred which increased the demand for slave-labor. This was Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin, by which the preparation of cotton for the market was made much easier. The raising of cotton, therefore, became much more profitable, and the industry grew during the next half-century to vast proportions. Before the Civil War seven-eighths of all the cotton crop of the world was raised in the United States. For the cultivation of cotton and tobacco slaves were required in greater numbers than ever, and in 1860 there were nearly 4,000,000 of them south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Many of the founders of our government—Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin, Madison—saw the great evils of slavery, though Washington himself was a slave-holder. The proposition to pro-

hibit slavery in the Northwest Territory was brought forward by Jefferson. After 1808 the importation of slaves was forbidden. But in the course of time, as the importance of slave-labor increased in the south, that section of the country became a practical unit for maintaining it, while in the north the abolition sentiment was growing.

It soon became evident that the South and North were arrayed against each other on this question, and that Congress was the scene of their struggle. The more rapid increase of population in the north made it impossible for the South to control as many supporters in the House of Representatives as the opposing element. But to the Senate each state, large or small, elects two members. If, therefore, the South could prevent more free states than slave states from being admitted to the Union, they would preserve the balance of power in the Senate and thus have a check on the actions of the lower body.

To this end they devoted their energies, and with signal success. For a considerable time they held the upper hand in the main in controlling the government. The Missouri Compromise — 1820–21 — was more gratifying to the South than to the North. The admission of Texas in 1845 added a slave state to the Union and precipitated a war. The Omnibus Bill of 1850 secured a more vigorous fugitive-slave law. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 practically repealed the provision of the Missouri Compromise prohibiting slavery in new territories north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. The Dred Scott decision of 1857, rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States, declared that negroes could not become citizens and that Congressional restrictions on slavery were unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

For a while, too, the balance between free and slave

states was preserved. In 1848 there were thirty states, evenly divided in this respect. But in the next ten years the admission of California, Oregon, and Minnesota gave a majority to the North in Congress of six Senators and sixty Representatives. The struggle in Kansas resulted in a defeat of slavery. With the election of Lincoln the South felt that her political supremacy was gone—she no longer could control the government.

While the social and political power of slavery was growing in the south, a strong anti-slavery sentiment was rising in the north. Slavery was abolished in one state after another. Anti-slavery societies were formed. In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison commenced the publication of *The Liberator*, advocating immediate emancipation. The steady persistence of Garrison and the burning eloquence of Wendell Phillips gathered a powerful following of abolitionists. Some of these went to the extreme of believing disunion would have to be resorted to, for they saw no prospect of crushing slavery in a constitutional way. Moreover, the North was not a unit against slavery as the South was for it. There were many who sympathized with slavery, or who at least did not indorse the anti-slavery enthusiasts. The leaders in that cause suffered much from social odium, and even met with violence at the hands of pro-slavery mobs.

But the abolition movement strengthened in spite of opposition. Aid was given to slaves in making their escape to Canada, where their freedom would be secure, and personal-liberty laws were passed by some of the states to insure the freedom of any slave who reached their borders. When the struggle began in Kansas numerous anti-slavery colonists were sent to that region. John Brown's raid evoked much enthusiasm in the north, and its hero was thought by many to have suffered the death of a martyr in the cause of freedom.

We are now in a position to see how it came about that slavery was not the immediate and apparent cause of the Civil War, while it was the original and essential cause. It was natural in a government constituted as our own is, in which so much power is left to the separate states, that a national policy which did not meet with the approbation of any section of the country should call forth threats of secession. In our earlier history as a nation it was New England that talked of withdrawing from the Union because of the injury to her commerce, which was inevitable in the foreign complications that culminated in the War of 1812. But when high duties were levied on imported goods to the benefit of the manufacturing localities and the detriment of the agricultural regions, the South began to talk of nullification and state sovereignty. It will be remembered that vigorous action was necessary from President Jackson, in 1832, to bring South Carolina to terms for recommending resistance to the collection of duties.

Now the doctrine of State Rights, or State Sovereignty, which had long been held in the south, was distinctly advocated once more. This section refused to be governed by the opponents of its cherished institution. It was asserted that the United States of America was a confederacy of sovereign states which could be dissolved for sufficiently grave reasons. These grounds, it was maintained, had been given by the election of a Republican President, which insured a vigorous policy against the extension of slavery and its political supremacy. The North on this point was much more unanimous than on the slavery question pure and simple. They asserted that the states were subordinate to the general government and that the Union was intended to be, and should be, maintained as an indissoluble bond. For these reasons both sides took up arms, and from the smoke of the conflict the nation emerged a united whole.

The bitterness of the feeling between the sections of the country had been intensified by a mutual misunderstanding. The principal railroads and the course of emigration lay from the Atlantic coast inland, and the North and South had less intercourse with, and consequently less knowledge of, each other. It was natural, therefore, that, opposed as they were on these questions, the South should call the Yankees a set of narrow-minded and meddling fanatics, and that the North should believe its southern brethren were ignorantly and inhumanly devoted to the support of a barbarous institution and were unpatriotic rebels.

And most surprising it is, when we look back at this period in our history, that neither side appreciated for an instant the extent and terrible character of the war into which they were soon plunged. The North believed that the South would not dare to fight with 4,000,000 of slaves in its midst. The South believed that the North was disunited, that the favor of France and England, who needed cotton, would insure its success, and that the separation would be peaceful. Nevertheless they had gradually prepared for war, and at the time when hostilities broke out were in a much better military condition than the North.

The population of the United States in 1860 numbered over 31,000,000. In the early part of 1861, before the conflict began, the thirty-fourth state, Kansas, was admitted to the Union. The northern and eastern portions of the country were chiefly devoted to commerce and manufacture, the south and west to agriculture. The country had grown enormously in population, in wealth, in variety of industries since the days of the Revolution, most especially in the north. And the North soon recovered from its first surprise at the commencement of the Civil War and quickly rallied its greater wealth and population for the maintenance of the Union.

Such was the state of the country at the opening of the Civil War. Such were the causes—the apparent cause the doctrine of State Sovereignty, the real, original, and ultimate cause Slavery—that plunged the nation into a bitter war between brothers of one race and one nation.

CHAPTER LVII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—1861–1865—THE CIVIL WAR—1861.

Sketch of Lincoln—His inaugural address and Cabinet—Fort Sumter bombarded—It is evacuated—Effect on the country—Northern soldiers attacked by a Baltimore mob—The Confederates secure Harper's Ferry and Norfolk navy-yard—Richmond their capital—The campaigns in West Virginia—Big Bethel—Harper's Ferry reoccupied by the Federals—Union defeat at Bull Run—Effect on the nation—Ball's Bluff—The campaigns in Missouri—The Federals lose and reoccupy Lexington—Fremont—Grant at Belmont—Hatteras Inlet and Port Royal Sound—The *Trent* affair—Mason and Slidell captured—They are finally released.

Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky on the 12th of February, 1809. When he was about seven years of age his father removed to Indiana, and when twenty-one Lincoln settled in Illinois. He was a striking example of the possibility in our free country of rising from humble surroundings to the highest position in the nation. He received a very small amount of school education, but did much for himself in gathering knowledge. He was at various times a ferryman, a flat-boatman on the Mississippi, a farmer, a clerk in a store. In 1832 he served as a captain of volunteers in the Black Hawk War. He was elected to the Illinois legislature in 1834, commenced the practice of law in 1837, and rose to prominence. He was elected to Congress in 1846. Later on, as a candidate for United States Senator, he was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, but in the debates with his op-

ponent he gained a national reputation. On the 4th of March, 1861, at the age of fifty-two, he took the oath of office, and entering on his Presidential duties at a peculiarly trying time, he managed the affairs of the nation with great wisdom and fidelity. His genial

Abraham Lincoln

nature, strong will, and conscientious motives have endeared his memory to the nation.

Lincoln's inaugural address declared his intention of enforcing the laws, preserving the Union, and retaking the public property which had been seized by

the Confederates. His nominations of Cabinet officers were immediately confirmed by the Senate. William H. Seward became Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase Secretary of the Treasury; Simeon Cameron (succeeded in 1862 by Edwin M. Stanton) Secretary of War, and Gideon Welles Secretary of the Navy.

The purpose of the government to re-enforce the National forts was forestalled by the Confederates in Charleston. It will be remembered that Major Anderson had retired from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. His whole force consisted of about seventy men. The Confederates had gathered in large numbers at Charleston, under the command of General P. G. T. Beauregard, and batteries had been erected. On the 11th of April, 1861, a summons was sent to Anderson to surrender. He refused. The next morning at 4:30 o'clock the Confederate batteries opened fire. For thirty-four hours a terrific bombardment was kept up, to which the garrison responded. But the odds were against them, and after sustaining severe injuries to the walls and buildings, though no lives were lost on either side, Anderson evacuated the fort on the 14th of the month with the honors of war.

The firing on Fort Sumter roused the country like an electric shock. The South was consolidated by it: the North was united. Two days after the evacuation of Sumter the President issued a call for 75,000 volunteers. A prompt response was made by the North. On the 19th of April one of the first regiments to march to the front, the Sixth Massachusetts, passed through Baltimore. Though Maryland never formed part of the Confederacy, the disunion sentiment was strong within her borders. The Massachusetts regiment was attacked and three of its members killed and others wounded. The mob also suffered. The first bloodshed of the war tremendously increased the excitement throughout the country.

On the 18th of April the National forces at Harper's Ferry were forced to evacuate the armory at the approach of Southern troops. On the 20th the navy-yard at Norfolk was menaced, and the Union soldiers were withdrawn after firing the buildings and ships. The Confederates secured at this post 2,000 cannon and afterward raised some of the scuttled vessels. The Confederates were crowding toward the capital with the cry of "On to Washington!" The alarming proportions which events had assumed compelled President Lincoln on the 3d of May to call for 83,000 more soldiers for service during the war. Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott was commander-in-chief. A blockade of the southern ports had already been declared, and as many vessels as possible of our miserably small navy were sent to enforce it. The Confederates selected Richmond as their capital; at that place their Congress met, and thence Davis and his Cabinet directed the movements of the South.

LINCOLN'S EARLY HOME IN ILLINOIS.

West Virginia was the scene of some of the earliest conflicts. On the 3d of June a battle occurred at Philippi, where the Confederates were defeated and driven back. General George B. McClellan soon ar-

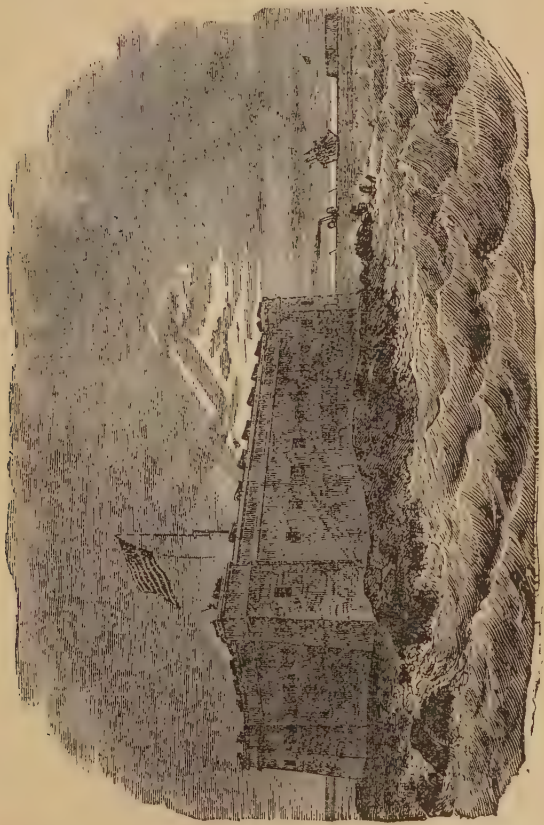
rived and took command in person. A part of his force, under General Rosecrans, gained another victory at Rich Mountain on July 11th. The Confederates made a stand on the Cheat River and were again defeated. On the 10th of August Rosecrans attacked General Floyd at Carnifex Ferry and forced the Confederates to retreat. On the 14th of the next month another Union victory was gained at Cheat Mountain. West Virginia was secured, and the important line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was safe.

Meanwhile, the Confederate General Magruder had moved toward Fortress Monroe. General B. F. Butler, in command at that post, sent a force to dislodge him, but a battle fought on the 10th of June at Big Bethel resulted in the repulse of the National troops. On the next day a victory was gained in another quarter. Colonel Lewis Wallace made a brilliant and successful attack on the Confederates at Romney, now in West Virginia. General Patterson soon supported this movement by throwing a considerable force across the Potomac. The Confederates had retired to Winchester, and the Union troops once more occupied Harper's Ferry.

To meet the threatened danger to Washington, Union troops had crossed the Potomac on the 24th of May and occupied Alexandria. In July the Confederates were massed at Manassas Junction under General Beauregard and had General Joseph E. Johnston within supporting distance. The Union forces in front of Washington were commanded by General McDowell, as Scott was too feeble to take the field. These were now pushed forward, and a sharp engagement occurred on the 18th of July, near Centreville, on Bull Run, which resulted successfully for the Confederates.

But the name of Bull Run was destined to become more famous. Between that stream and Manassas

Junction the main bodies of the two armies met on Sunday morning, July 21st. A fierce battle occurred.



FORT SUMTER, CHARLESTON HARBOR.

The advantage of numbers was with the Federals, and after several hours' fighting they seemed likely

to gain a complete victory. But about 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Confederates were re-enforced by 6,000 fresh troops. Johnston had eluded Patterson, who had been sent to watch the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley. As senior officer he assumed command, and the fresh regiments hurled themselves on the exhausted ranks of the Federals. The seeming victory was turned into an utter rout. A panic seized the Union troops and they fled in a disorganized mass back to Washington. The Federals had lost 2,952; the Confederates about 2,000.

Bull Run, the first great battle of the war, added to the enthusiasm of the Confederates and the belief in their military prowess. They had, indeed, many brave soldiers, as subsequent events showed. Their leaders had been educated in the National army, and at the outbreak of the Civil War had cast their lot with their native states. The battle, on the other hand, disheartened the North. The idea of pressing at once to Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, was shattered at one blow, and every thought was given to the protection of Washington. General McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and spent several months in organizing and disciplining an effective force. Strong defenses were erected to secure the safety of the capital. On the 1st of November General Scott, now old in years, retired from active service and McClellan succeeded him as commander-in-chief. In the meantime, on the 21st of October, a force of about 2,500 men had been thrown across the Potomac at Ball's Bluff, where they met with a severe repulse. Colonel Baker, the commander, was killed, and the Federal loss amounted to 1,000 men.

The war was not confined to the east, but had begun as well in the west. Missouri, like Maryland, although it was a slave state and contained many sym-

pathizers with the southern cause, including the governor, was yet divided in sentiment. It never became in reality a part of the Confederacy, though that government pretended to recognize it as such. It was a battle-ground, however, for several sharp conflicts. Active measures were begun by the Confederates under the military leadership of General Sterling Price, and several engagements occurred.

About the middle of June General Lyon gained a victory over the Confederates at Boonville. In the early part of the next month General Franz Sigel, at the head of a Federal force, had a sharp engagement at Carthage. He inflicted a severe loss on the Confederates and fell back in good order before their superior forces. On the 10th of August Lyon and Sigel attacked, with about 5,000 men, a Confederate force four times as great, at Wilson's Creek, near Springfield. The enemy was driven from the field, but Lyon fell mortally wounded. The next day the Federal army withdrew.

Price now pushed northward and laid siege to Lexington, which was garrisoned by less than 3,000 men under Colonel Mulligan. A gallant defense was made for nine days, but the Federals were at last forced to surrender to a force of about 25,000 men. Lexington, however, was soon retaken by the Federals. Meanwhile General Fremont had been given command of the Union forces in Missouri. He took vigorous measures for increasing his army and subduing the enemy, and proclaimed martial law in the state. He also issued an order freeing the slaves of those who were in arms against the United States. The times, however, were not ripe for this decided action, which was annulled. Fremont was superseded by General Hunter, who in turn soon gave place to General Halleck.

General Polk, meanwhile, had entered Kentucky

with a Confederate force and captured Columbus. The Confederates also held Belmont, on the opposite side of the Mississippi in Missouri, and commanded the river with their batteries. To capture Belmont Colonel Ulysses S. Grant was sent with 3,000 Illinois troops. He attacked the Confederates on the 7th of November and gained the day. But the Confederate batteries at Columbus made his position untenable. Polk sent re-enforcements across the river and Grant fought his way back to his boats with a severe loss, though he had inflicted a greater loss on the enemy.

In the summer of this year an expedition of land and naval forces, under General Butler and Commodore Stringham, was sent to capture the forts at Hatteras Inlet. After a two-days' bombardment the Federals succeeded in their attempt on the 29th of August. On the 7th of November another combined expedition, under Commodore Dupont and General Thomas W. Sherman, attacked and captured the forts that commanded the entrance to Port Royal Sound, on the coast of South Carolina. The blockade of southern ports was enforced vigorously, and so successfully that it was difficult for a Confederate vessel to enter or leave port.

Many daring blockade-runners, however, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the United States vessels. On one of these sailed James M. Mason and John Slidell, who were sent by the Confederate government as embassadors to France and England. These governments had already proclaimed their neutrality and had recognized the Confederates as belligerents, not as insurgents. Mason and Slidell left Havana on the British mail-steamer *Trent*. On November 8th this vessel was stopped by the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes. Mason and Slidell were taken off and conveyed to Boston, where they were imprisoned in Fort Warren.

This action of Wilkes' met with hearty approval in the north, and the government was at first disposed to take the same view. But Lincoln and Seward saw the absurdity of maintaining as a right what we had taken up arms in 1812 to oppose as violating the laws of nations regarding neutral vessels. England demanded a reparation for the insult to her flag and commenced preparations for hostilities. It was a brilliant stroke of diplomacy that the administration achieved in disavowing the act of Wilkes and in putting Mason and Slidell on a British vessel to proceed to Europe. The immemorial doctrine of the United States as to neutral vessels was adhered to, Great Britain herself was now committed to the same position, a foreign war was prevented, and the hopes of the Confederates for such an outcome of the difficulty were dashed to the ground.

CHAPTER LVIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR—1862.

Events in the west—Fort Henry captured—Grant and Foote take Fort Donelson—Shiloh—Pea Ridge—Island Number Ten and Memphis captured—Farragut and Butler on the lower Mississippi—The fleet runs past the forts—New Orleans occupied—The Confederate raid into Kentucky—They are checked and driven out—Iuka Springs—Corinth—Grant's advance toward Vicksburg delayed—Sherman repulsed at Chickasaw Bayou—The battle of Murfreesboro—Events on the Atlantic coast—Savannah blockaded—The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*—Banks and Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley—McClellan commences his peninsular campaign—The Federals capture Norfolk—The battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines—The Seven Days' battle—The peninsular campaign abandoned—Cedar Mountain—Pope's campaign in Virginia—Lee crosses the Potomac—South Mountain—Antietam—Lee retreats—Stuart's raid—McClellan slowly follows Lee—He is superseded by Burnside—Fredericksburg—Defeat of the Federals—The war has assumed vast proportions.

The campaigns of 1862 opened in the west. On the 9th of January Colonel Garfield fell upon the Confederates on the Big Sandy River, in the eastern part of Kentucky, and vanquished them. On the 19th of the month a severe engagement occurred at Mill Spring, in the same region, and the Federals, under General Thomas, gained a victory over the enemy, under Crittenden and Zollicoffer. The latter was killed.

General Halleck had planned the capture of Fort Henry, commanding the Tennessee River, and Fort

Donelson, commanding the Cumberland. Commodore Foote was sent up the former stream in February with a number of gun-boats, and he forced the evacuation of Fort Henry by the Confederates before General Grant had time to co-operate with him. The gun-boats now dropped down the Tennessee and ascended the Cumberland to Fort Donelson. Grant, with 30,000 men, assisted by the fleet, laid siege to that post, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by 10,000 Confederates under General Floyd (who had been Secretary of War under Buchanan) and Generals Pillow and Buckner.

On the 14th of February the gun-boats were driven back temporarily by a heavy fire. The next day a fierce sally was made by the garrison, but they were repulsed with severe loss. Floyd and Pillow, fearing capture, fled, and left Buckner in command. That general saw that capitulation was inevitable. He asked what terms of surrender would be granted, to which Grant replied: "Only an unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner yielded. Besides the garrison and numerous arms, a large quantity of stores fell into the hands of the Federals. This important success secured Union supremacy in Missouri, Kentucky, and northern Tennessee, and Columbus, the capital of the latter state, was evacuated by the Confederates.

Grant now ascended the Tennessee to Pittsburg Landing, and a camp was formed at Shiloh Church, near by. On the morning of Sunday, the 6th of April, Generals Albert S. Johnston and Beauregard led the Confederates in a sudden attack on Grant's army. The battle was vigorously contested all day, and at evening the Nationals had been driven back to the Tennessee, where they made a stand, supported by the gun-boats. During the night Buell and Wallace ar-

rived with re-enforcements, and in the morning Grant renewed the conflict, drove the Confederates back, and recovered all the ground that had been lost. Johnston had been mortally wounded in the first day's battle, and Beauregard, now in command, retreated toward Corinth. The battle was the severest which had yet been fought on American soil. Nearly 100,000 men had been engaged. The Confederate loss was over 10,000 and the Union loss about 2,000 greater.

In the early part of the year a Federal force had entered the northwestern part of Arkansas and occupied Pea Ridge. On the 7th of March they were attacked by the Confederates, whom they succeeded in defeating after a two-days' battle, though with the balance of losses on the Union side. In the meantime General Pope had advanced against the Confederate post at New Madrid, in southeastern Missouri. He opened a heavy fire on the enemy and forced them to retire to Island Number Ten, in the river. Pope now co-operated with Commodore Foote in a bombardment of this strongly fortified island. After a vigorous cannonade for three weeks the Confederates, finding their escape cut off by Pope, surrendered on the 7th of April. Two months later the city of Memphis was captured by Commodore Davis.

On the lower Mississippi also stirring events had taken place. Early in April a powerful armament entered that river. Admiral Farragut and General Butler commanded the combined naval and land forces. Eighty miles below New Orleans were two strong forts, Jackson and St. Philip. A vigorous bombardment of these fortifications was commenced on the 18th of April and continued incessantly for six days. But little injury was done, and Farragut undertook the hazardous work of running past the Confederate batteries. Early in the morning of the 24th of the month the squadron was put in motion, the

obstructions in the river, composed of hulks and logs connected by chains, were broken, and under a terrific fire the Union vessels passed the forts. The Confederate fleet higher up the stream was captured or destroyed, and Farragut proceeded to New Orleans. Forts Jackson and St. Philip were taken soon afterward. On the 1st of May Butler entered New Orleans, where he pursued a vigorous policy that reduced the city to the Federal authority. The opening of the lower Mississippi and the capture of New Orleans was the severest loss which the Confederacy had yet sustained.

In the latter part of September the Confederates made an attempt to regain possession of Kentucky. Two divisions, under General E. Kirby Smith and General Bragg, entered the state. Smith routed the Federals at Richmond, Kentucky, on the 30th of August, and pushing on captured Lexington. His advance on Cincinnati was checked by the energy of General Wallace. Smith now turned back and captured Frankfort. Meanwhile Bragg had been advancing. About the middle of September he captured a Union force at Mumfordsville, and then pushed on toward Louisville, joining Smith's army at Frankfort. Now General Buell, who had received re-enforcements, turned on the Confederates and pressed them back to Perryville, where a hard battle was fought on October 8th. The losses were about equal, but the marauding force of the Confederates retired from Kentucky.

On the 19th of September Rosecrans, with an inferior force, attacked the Confederates, under General Price, near Iuka Springs, in the northeastern corner of Mississippi. A severe battle resulted in a victory for the Federals. General Grant, who commanded the Union forces in this region, now turned toward the Mississippi, and Rosecrans was left with 20,000

men at Corinth. There he was attacked by Van Dorn and Price. The battle raged fiercely on the 3d and 4th of October, and the Confederates were repulsed with a severe loss. The Federals also suffered heavily.

Grant's object was to co-operate with General William Tecumseh Sherman, then at Memphis, in the capture of Vicksburg. But Van Dorn succeeded in preventing Grant's advance by cutting off his line of supplies at Holly Springs on the 20th of December. Sherman, ignorant of this event, descended the Mississippi and landed a short distance above Vicksburg, but in an attack on the Confederates at Chickasaw Bayou on the 29th of December he was repulsed with heavy loss.

In the meantime Rosecrans had been placed in command of the Army of the Cumberland, with his headquarters at Nashville. Bragg had concentrated the Confederate forces at Murfreesboro. Rosecrans advanced, and came on the Confederates at Stone River, near the town. Preparations were made for battle, and the fierce struggle commenced on the morning of December 31st. The battle raged all day. The Federals were pressed back and lost heavily, their complete defeat being prevented by a daring stand taken by General Hazen with 1,300 men. During the night a council of war was held in the Union camp, and on New Year's morning Bragg was confronted by a well-arranged line of battle. He was forced to act cautiously, and the day was spent in heavy skirmishing. On the 2d of January, 1863, the conflict was renewed with energy. The day was finally saved for the Federals by a fierce charge, and that night Bragg withdrew his forces. The forces engaged and the losses inflicted were differently stated by each side, but it is probable that the Federal army numbered over 40,000 and the Confederate about 50,000

The losses of the latter were over 10,000 and of the former nearly 12,000.

Such were the campaigns in the west during the year 1862. But in Virginia and along the Atlantic coast important events had also occurred. In the beginning of the year a Federal armament of land and naval forces had been fitted out under General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough. Early in February the fleet arrived at Roanoke Island, which was fortified by several batteries, and the fortifications were carried one after another. Newbern was the next object of attack. The soldiers were landed and the city was captured after a severe battle on the 14th of March. Beaufort was then occupied, and on the 25th of April Fort Macon, which commanded the harbor, was taken. In the meantime Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River, further south, was captured on the 11th of April by General Gillmore. This victory enabled a close blockade to be maintained on the port of Savannah.

NAVAL DUEL BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC.

After the capture of the Norfolk navy-yard in the previous year the Confederates had raised one of the sunken vessels, named the *Merrimac*. They had re-christened her the *Virginia*, had converted her into a dangerous ram with an iron prow, and had given her sloping decks heavily plated with railroad iron. On the 8th of March the *Virginia* attacked the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads, near Fortress Monroe. The shot that were rained on the ram glanced harmlessly from her inclined decks, and she succeeded in destroying two frigates, the *Congress* and *Cumberland*. The expected renewal of the attack the next morning was awaited with dread. But during the night a new vessel appeared on the scene. It was a strange craft, with a deck almost level with the water, surmounted amidships by a heavy iron revolving turret carrying two guns. The *Monitor* was the invention of Captain John Ericsson, of New York. When the *Virginia* returned on the morning of March 9th she was confronted by this curious craft, much smaller than herself. A furious naval duel commenced, which resulted in the withdrawal of the *Virginia*, badly damaged, to Norfolk. Lieutenant Worden, who commanded the *Monitor*, was severely though not permanently injured. The result of this famous battle was to change entirely the course of naval construction throughout the world.

In the early part of the year General Banks had been sent into the Shenandoah Valley. General "Stonewall" Jackson was dispatched with 20,000 Confederates to oppose him, and in the latter part of May he destroyed a Union force at Front Royal. Banks was forced to retire to the Potomac, with Jackson following. But now news came that Fremont was advancing to cut off the Confederate retreat. Jackson retired at once and was not overtaken by Fremont till he reached Cross Keys. There, on the

7th of June, the Federals attacked a part of the Confederate army, under Ewell, in a severe but indecisive battle. Jackson escaped across the South Fork of the Shenandoah after repulsing the Nationals at Port Republic.

In March the Army of the Potomac, numbering 200,000 men, had set out with the purpose of capturing Richmond. McClellan had failed to act with sufficient energy to please the President and the impatient North, and he was relieved of his office of commander-in-chief and given only the command of the Army of the Potomac. After advancing as far as Manassas Junction he changed his base to Fortress Monroe and transported thither a large part of his force. In the early part of April he began his march up the peninsula lying between the James and York rivers. At Yorktown General Magruder, with about 11,000 Confederates, successfully delayed for a month the Federal forces, which soon numbered 100,000. But Yorktown was besieged, and by the 4th of May the Confederates withdrew. They made a stand at Williamsburg but were defeated. By the 20th of May the Nationals had reached the Chickahominy.

Meanwhile General Wool, in command of Fortress Monroe, sent a force against Norfolk. On the 10th of May he captured the town. The Confederates, as they retired, blew up the *Virginia*. The other vessels were driven up the James River by the Federal gunboats. Part of McClellan's army had crossed the Chickahominy and was within a few miles of Richmond, which was defended by Johnston. A fierce battle commenced at Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, on the 31st of May and was renewed next day, when the Union troops were victorious, with a loss of 5,700. The Confederate loss was equal or greater. Among the wounded of the latter was General Joseph E. Johnston, whose

command was soon given to General Robert E. Lee. Little was done after this till the latter part of June. On the 25th of that month began the famous Seven Days' fighting. On the second day occurred the battle of Mechanicsville (called also the battle of Beaver Dam Creek), in which the Confederates were defeated with severe loss. The next day saw the hard but indecisive battle of Gaines' Mill (called also the battle of Cold Harbor, or the Chickahominy). The 28th was the quietest day of the seven. McClellan was now changing his base of supplies from White House, on the Pamunkey, to the James. His rear-guard was attacked on the 29th at Savage's Station, but repulsed the Confederates. On the 30th a furious battle was fought at Frazier's Farm, but with no decided result. The Federals had now reached Malvern Hills, close to the James River, where they occupied a strong position. On the 1st of July Lee attempted to carry the place by storm. For hours the battle raged furiously, and it was not until darkness closed around the scene that the Confederate troops were withdrawn, broken and exhausted.

So ended the Seven Days' battle. Lee withdrew to Richmond, and McClellan, instead of following up his victory, retired to Harrison's Landing, on the James. The Union losses during this period aggregated over 15,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Confederate loss was even greater, but Richmond had been saved. The Federal army was soon withdrawn from the peninsula.

Lee was now satisfied that the Confederate capital was safe for the present, and he undertook to capture Washington, and, if possible, push on into Maryland. In his way was the Army of Virginia, under General Pope, numbering between 40,000 and 50,000 men. On August 9th Lee's advance-guard, under Jackson, attacked a Federal force commanded by Banks at Cedar

Mountain. In one of the fiercest battles of the war the Federals were driven back until the enemy was checked by Union re-enforcements. The Confederate loss was about 1,300 and the National loss about 1,900.

Jackson, with a portion of Lee's army, now made a flank movement and captured Manassas Junction, in Pope's rear. Pope fell on Jackson with the expectation of routing him before Lee could send aid. On the 29th and 30th of August severe battles were fought near Manassas Junction and the old Bull Run battle-field. On the 1st of September another engagement occurred at Chantilly, in which the Union generals Kearney and Stevens were killed. Pope had the worst of these engagements, and withdrew his broken army to the fortifications around Washington. He soon requested to be transferred to the west, and the Army of Virginia was merged in the Army of the Potomac under McClellan.

Lee now pushed forward, crossed the Potomac into Maryland, and by the 10th of September had captured Frederick and Hagerstown. On the 14th of the month a battle occurred at South Mountain, in which the Confederates were defeated. The next day Stonewall Jackson received the surrender of Harper's Ferry, with over 11,000 prisoners. Lee took a strong position on Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg, on the 15th. McClellan had followed him, and sharp skirmishing occurred. The 16th was spent by both commanders in arranging their divisions for battle, and no general conflict ensued.

But on the morning of September 17th the battle of Antietam commenced in earnest. It was waged fiercely but with varying success all day, although the advantage lay with the Federals. The next day McClellan dared not risk a defeat, although he was re-enforced. Before the 19th dawned Lee had slipped

away and had transferred his shattered army to the southern side of the Potomac. The forces that took part in this battle are variously estimated. Probably those actually engaged numbered about 40,000 of Lee's men and 57,000 of McClellan's—rather more than less. Each side had lost over 12,000 men. Lee's invasion of Maryland had proved a costly failure, though, on the other hand, the high hopes of the North that his army would be cut to pieces had not been completely satisfied.

Lee moved slowly up the Shenandoah Valley while McClellan delayed crossing the Potomac, although ordered to do so by the President. While he was making one objection after another, the Confederate General Stuart, with 2,000 men, made a raid into Maryland and Pennsylvania and returned with slight injury. It was not until the last days of October that McClellan finally crossed into Virginia. His slowness in this movement added to the distrust which his peninsular campaign had stirred up against him, and on the 7th of November he was superseded in command by General Burnside. McClellan took no further active part in the war.

Another advance on Richmond was now projected, and Burnside's plan was accepted, of advancing from the mouth of Acquia Creek, on the Potomac, through Fredericksburg. Before he was ready to cross the Rappahannock Lee had time to concentrate his force on the southern side of the stream, where he occupied a strong position on the heights near Fredericksburg. Burnside succeeded in crossing the stream on pontoons, or floating bridges, and gave battle on the 13th of December.

Attempts to break the Confederate lines were made at several points with varying success. But the most deadly work was at Marye's Hill. Here the Confederates were posted in a position that was almost im-

pregnable. Charge after charge was made up the incline, and the Federals were mowed down like grain by a terrible fire. In vain their courage. The night descended on a terrible defeat for Burnside. He had lost over 12,000 men and the Confederates less than 6,000. Burnside wished to renew the attack the next morning but his officers dissuaded him, and two days later the Union forces were withdrawn across the Rappahannock.

The disastrous results of the campaigns of 1862 in the region of Virginia were disheartening, but along the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi and in Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Mississippi Federal arms had gained many successes. The war was now being waged on an enormous scale. Hundreds of thousands of men were in the field. The North responded promptly to the vast demands which were made for soldiers. Both sides had long since discovered that secession was no trifling matter. The North and the South alike were fighting in deadly earnestness—the one for the preservation of the Union, the other to maintain the Confederate government.

CHAPTER LIX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR—1863—EMANCIPATION.

Emancipation—Arkansas Post—Grant besieges Vicksburg—Johnston defeated—Pemberton hemmed in—The city capitulates—Port Hudson captured—Hooker succeeds Burnside—The Wilderness—The Federals defeated—Stoneman's raid—Lee reaches Pennsylvania—Meade succeeds Hooker—The battle of Gettysburg—Lee retreats to Virginia—Rosecrans drives back Bragg—Chickamauga—Thomas succeeds Rosecrans—Grant placed in command—Lookout Mountain—Missionary Ridge—Events in eastern Tennessee—In Mississippi and Arkansas—Cavalry raids—Grierson—Morgan—The Confederates capture Galveston—Charleston blockaded by the Nationals—The Conscription Act—The draft riot in New York—West Virginia admitted to the Union—Review of the year.

The 1st of January, 1863, was forever made memorable in American history by the Emancipation Proclamation. We have pointed out before that the war was not begun with the purpose of liberating the slaves, but the anti-slavery sentiment of the North had gained great strength as it came to be seen how closely connected the slavery question was with the fierce war that was raging. The North and the Republican party now controlled the actions of Congress and slavery had been abolished in the District of Columbia. Authority had also been given the President to declare free those slaves who were owned in districts that were in arms against the National government. Accordingly Lincoln had given notice on the 22d of September, 1862, of his intentions, and on the 1st of January following he proclaimed the freedom of the

slaves in certain designated states and parts of states as a "military necessity." It was a carefully meditated blow to the power of the Confederate government.

Grant's purpose of capturing Vicksburg had by no means been given up because of the checks to himself and Sherman in December. Before active measures were recommenced in this direction, however, a force which was sent up the Arkansas River in January captured the important position of Arkansas Post, with several thousand prisoners. Meanwhile the Union forces were being concentrated north of Vicksburg. Grant perceived that a successful attack on the Confederates would best be prosecuted from the rear of the town, but his efforts to secure this position were not at first promising. The cutting of a canal through which the gun-boats might pass with safety around the heavy batteries at Vicksburg proved a failure, and the Federals, in March, suffered a repulse in attempting to get into the rear of the town from the north. But now a hazardous experiment turned out successfully and solved the problem. On the night of the 16th of April Porter's fleet of gun-boats and transports succeeded in safely passing Vicksburg, though exposed to a terrible fire. Grant's army proceeded down the western bank of the Mississippi, crossed under protection from the fleet, overcame the Confederates at Port Gibson on the 1st of May, and obtained their coveted position in the rear of Vicksburg.

Grant now had his hands full in watching, on the one side, General Pemberton in and around Vicksburg, and on the other, General Johnston's attempts to reach and relieve the city. The forces of the latter were encountered and defeated at Raymond on the 12th of May, and two days later the Federals obtained another victory at Jackson and captured the city. Thus

Pemberton was cut off from help. On the 16th his forces were met and defeated at Champion Hills, and the next day they were again vanquished on the Big Black River. Pemberton was now confined to Vicksburg, and close siege was laid to that city.

On the 19th of May, and once more on the 22d, unsuccessful attempts to storm the Confederate works led to disastrous losses on the Union side. An incessant and terrible bombardment by land and water was now commenced, which was very destructive. Food became exceedingly scarce and the garrison was completely hemmed in, without hope of relief. Still Pemberton held out for more than a month. Then his situation could no longer be endured, and on the 4th of July he surrendered. Nearly 30,000 prisoners, a strongly fortified city, large quantities of arms, ammunition, and stores, fell into the hands of the National troops. Grant had delivered one of the most telling blows of the war against the Confederacy.

Meanwhile General Banks, who was now in command of the Department of the Gulf, had commenced, with the aid of Farragut, the siege of Port Hudson. When news came of the capitulation of Vicksburg, the siege of about six weeks was terminated by a Confederate surrender. These two successes threw the control of the entire length of the Mississippi into the hands of the Nationals.

Meanwhile events were occurring in the east that led up to the second great event of this year. Burnside was removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac after his defeat at Fredericksburg, and was succeeded by General Joseph Hooker. That general reorganized his forces, and in April crossed the Rappahannock and reached Chancellorsville in safety. Here, in a rough and wooded region, known as the Wilderness, a battle commenced on the 2d of

May. The chief action of the day was a long flank movement by Stonewall Jackson, who with 25,000 men swept around on the right wing of the Union army, completely surprised the Federals, and cut this part of their forces to pieces. This was the last of many brilliant exploits in which Jackson engaged. In the growing darkness his own men fired by mistake upon him and his staff, and Jackson was mortally wounded.

The next day the fighting was resumed. Sedgwick, with re-enforcements from Fredericksburg, was checked, and Lee succeeded in driving Hooker from his position. The Federal army now lay in a perilous situation, from which it was only saved by being withdrawn across the Rappahannock on the 5th of May. The Federal losses amounted to about 17,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Confederates lost about 13,000.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

While this disaster was impending a successful cavalry raid had been undertaken by the Union cavalry under General Stoneman, who swept around in Lee's rear, cut his communications, and got to within a few miles of Richmond. Longstreet was also repulsed from Suffolk, on the Nansemond. These movements, however, had little result on the larger operations. Lee determined to repeat his former attempt of crossing the Potomac and carrying the war into the north. In June he was in Maryland, where he captured Hagerstown. He then passed into Pennsylvania, took possession of Chambersburg, and

came within a few miles of Harrisburg. General Hooker had followed him, and the neighboring states promptly responded to the call for additional soldiers. A difference of opinion that arose between Hooker and Halleck, then general-in-chief, caused the resignation of the former. General George G. Meade was given the command of the Army of the Potomac. No important change of plan, however, was made, and both sides soon concentrated their forces at Gettysburg for a decisive battle. The success of the Federals meant a disastrous repulse of Lee's second northern invasion; their defeat meant a conquering march into the heart of the north, perhaps as far as the Hudson itself. Such was the importance of the coming conflict.

On the 1st of July the battle of Gettysburg commenced with a struggle for the possession of Seminary Ridge, in which the Federals were driven back. During the night the Union troops were concentrated in a strong position on a ridge. The left wing rested at Round Top, the center at Cemetery Hill, and the right at Culp's Hill. Lee occupied Seminary Ridge, across the narrow valley. In the afternoon of the 2d the Confederates renewed the battle with an attack on General Sickles, at the Federal left. The fight was for the possession of Round Top, which was held against repeated assaults of the Confederates. General Hancock, further along the line, was also fiercely attacked, as was Howard, on Cemetery Hill, but both held their ground firmly. On the right the Confederates succeeded in gaining a foothold in the position that had been held by General Slocum. The result of the day's fighting was indecisive, though the Confederates had somewhat the best of it.

The third and last day of the battle opened with a successful attempt to drive the Confederates from the position they had secured on the Union right. Then

Lee chose Cemetery Hill as the most vulnerable point of attack, and directed a fierce cannonade upon it for two hours, which was replied to with energy. The thunder of more than 200 cannon shook the very foundations of the hills. About 3 o'clock there was a lull. Then down from Seminary Ridge and across the valley poured a long column of Confederates—about 18,000 in all—to make a final charge on the Union position. A desperate assault, a brave defense, a fearful loss of life, and the Confederates were sent flying back in confusion. Each army had numbered about 75,000 men. The Union loss during the three days in killed, wounded, and missing was over 23,000, and the Confederate forces were diminished by over 30,000 men.

On the 4th of July Lee commenced his retreat. At the Potomac, swollen by rains, he kept Meade in check till he could cross into Virginia. So ended the boasted Confederate invasion of the North. The battle of Gettysburg was the crisis of the war, and it was felt to be so. It will be remembered that on the 4th of July, the day after the close of this battle, Vicksburg had fallen before Grant's persistence. The news of these two great victories added to the hope and enthusiasm of the North.

After Lee crossed into Virginia he proceeded up the Shenandoah Valley, Meade following on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge. Lee finally succeeded in crossing to the same side of the slope, when the Federal army took station on the Rappahannock and confronted him. The Confederates were pushed back beyond Culpepper in September, but soon Lee made a flank movement which threatened Meade, and both armies now began another race for the Potomac. Lee, however, soon fell back, and the opposing armies at the close of the year lay on the Rappahannock and the Rapidan. Several battles and much skirmishing

occurred during this campaign, but none of vital importance.

We last heard of General Rosecrans at the battle of Murfreesboro, which began on the last day of the previous year and ended on the 2d of January, 1863, with a Federal victory. After that little active work was done in this quarter for some months, except several cavalry raids, in one of which Colonel Streight with a Union force was captured by General Forrest in the early part of May, near Rome, in Georgia. In the latter part of June Rosecrans ordered an advance, before which General Bragg fell back with the Confederates beyond the limits of Tennessee, and Rosecrans took possession of Chattanooga. A few miles from that town, on the Chickamauga Creek, the armies came into collision on the 19th of September. The battle was severe but not decisive. During the night Bragg was re-enforced by Longstreet, and the conflict was renewed the next day with terrible energy. A gap was finally made in the National lines and the major part of the Union army was forced back to Chattanooga. General Thomas, however, stood firm, kept the enemy at bay, and at last withdrew his forces in good order. The Union loss was about 19,000; the Confederates had gained the victory, though with somewhat greater losses.

Rosecrans was soon transferred to the command of the Department of Missouri, and Thomas was given his place. Hooker arrived with re-enforcements, and in the latter part of October General Grant appeared on the scene. The Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the armies and departments of the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee, had been placed under Grant's command. Bragg had hemmed in the Union forces at Chattanooga, and he occupied almost impregnable positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

Hooker was sent across the Tennessee on the 23d of November, and he succeeded in gaining a foothold on the southern side of the river. The next morning he forced the Confederates out of their rifle-pits on the lower slopes, and then made a magnificent charge up the steep ascent. A fog hung around the summit of the mountain, so that the anxious eyes below could not see the dashing bravery and the brilliant success of the Federal troops. The "battle above the clouds" resulted in the capture of Lookout Mountain. The Confederates were forced to retreat to Missionary Ridge, on and around which their force was now collected. In the meantime Sherman had crossed the river above the town and secured a foothold on the northern end of Missionary Ridge.

On the morning of the 25th Sherman advanced along the ridge, Hooker crossed the valley and attacked the Confederate flank, and in the afternoon Thomas, with the Union center, was ordered forward. Their terrible energy was too much for the Confederates, who were driven from their position and retreated. The Union losses in these two battles were 5,616; the Confederate loss amounted to over 10,000.

While these exciting events were occurring in the neighborhood of Chattanooga, General Burnside was conducting a campaign in eastern Tennessee. He arrived in Knoxville on the 1st of September, where Longstreet besieged him after the battle of Chickamauga. On the 29th of November a desperate assault was made on the National works, which was repulsed with terrible loss of life to the attacking party. Now Sherman was advancing to Burnside's relief, and in the first days of December Longstreet raised the siege and withdrew.

The operations of this year in the region of Missouri and Arkansas were not conducted on a large scale. On the 8th of January the Confederates at-

tacked Springfield and were repulsed; on the 11th they were defeated at Hartsville; in April they were driven away from Cape Girardeau; in July they were repulsed with heavy loss from Helena, Arkansas. In August a band of "guerrillas," as loosely organized bodies of horsemen came to be called, fell upon Lawrence, Kansas, and murdered 140 people. General Steele occupied Little Rock with National forces on the 10th of September, and the Confederates, who had held that capital, retreated.

The cavalry had by this time become an important branch of the service, both in its organized and well-disciplined shapes and in its guerrilla bands. During Grant's campaign around Vicksburg, Colonel Grierson had started from Tennessee, traversed Mississippi, and ended his ride of 800 miles at Baton Rouge, after doing much damage to the railroads and other property of the Confederates. The famous raid of the Confederate General John Morgan also occurred in this year. Starting from Tennessee in June with 3,000 men, he passed through Kentucky, entered Indiana, and crossed Ohio nearly to the borders of Pennsylvania, where, near New Lisbon, his band was finally cut to pieces and himself captured.

On the first day of January the Confederates secured possession of the valuable port of Galveston by the enterprise of General Marmaduke. In April the National fleet, under Admiral Dupont, made a disastrous attempt to capture Charleston. In the latter part of June the attempt was renewed by General Gillmore and Admiral Dahlgren. A Federal assault on the 18th of July upon Fort Wagner was repulsed with heavy loss; but the bombardment was continued, and in September the Confederates evacuated the fort and Battery Gregg and withdrew to the city. Fort Sumter was seriously damaged, and the Nationals were now able to maintain a close blockade on the harbor.

The enormous demands which had been made on the north for volunteers naturally did not meet with such a ready response as during the early part of the war, and Congress found it necessary to pass the Conscription Act in March, 1863. The President soon after ordered a draft of 300,000 men, all able-bodied males between the ages of twenty and forty-five years being liable for service. This measure was bitterly condemned by those in the north who opposed the war, and an attempt to enforce the draft in New York caused a serious riot. Commencing on July 13th, the mob held possession of the city for three days, demolished buildings and killed about 100 persons, most of whom were negroes. It required vigorous action on the part of the military forces to subdue the rioters. Four hundred lives and $2,000,000 worth of property had been sacrificed during the disturbance.

West Virginia, which had previously repudiated the secession of the rest of Virginia, was admitted as a state on the 20th of June, 1863.

The year closed with a brighter prospect for the National arms. The defeat at Chancellorsville had been followed by the victory at Gettysburg, the overthrow at Chickamauga by the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge at Chattanooga. Vicksburg and Port Hudson had been captured. There were still men enough in the north to fill the Federal ranks, but the South was straining every nerve to keep up her army to the necessary numbers.

CHAPTER LX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED—THE CIVIL WAR—1864.

Sherman in Mississippi—Forrest at Fort Pillow—The Red Rivet expedition—Grant made lieutenant-general—Plan of operations—Sherman forces Johnston back to Atlanta—Hood succeeds Johnston—The Federals take Atlanta—Hood driven from Tennessee—Sherman's march to the sea—Savannah taken—Grant and Lee—Battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court-House—Cold Harbor—Advance on Petersburg—Butler's movements—The siege of Petersburg—Operations in the Shenandoah Valley—Early's raid—Sheridan in command—Winchester and Fisher's Hill—The battle of Cedar Creek—Prosecution of the siege of Petersburg—Farragut at Mobile—The port blockaded—The *Albemarle* blown up—Fort Fisher captured—The Confederate privateers—The *Alabama* sunk by the *Kearsarge*—Lincoln re-elected—Johnson Vice-President—Nevada admitted to the Union—The money-order system.

In February, 1864, Sherman, starting from Vicksburg, marched nearly across the state of Mississippi to Meridian. In this neighborhood he tore up the railroads and destroyed cars, cotton, and corn in large quantities. Then, being disappointed in expected re-enforcements, he returned to Vicksburg. These re-enforcements consisted of a cavalry force sent from Memphis, under the command of General Smith. Before they could reach Meridian they were met by the Confederate cavalry under Forrest and checked. Forrest continued northward, taking Union City by the way, till he reached Paducah, on the Ohio River. Having been repulsed in an attack on the fort at that

place, he turned back and attacked Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi above Memphis. This fort was defended by less than 600 men, many of whom were negroes. Forrest carried the place by storm on the 12th of April, and charges have been made of an indiscriminate massacre after the surrender.

It was in the spring of 1864 that the disastrous Red River expedition for the capture of Shreveport, the Confederate capital of Louisiana, was undertaken by the Nationals, under the command of General Banks. In March a force from Vicksburg, accompanied by a fleet of gun-boats, ascended the Red River. On the 14th of the month they made a successful assault on Fort de Russy, and two days later took possession of Alexandria, where Banks' forces from New Orleans joined them.

At Natchitoches the army left the river. On the 8th of April part of Banks' force was attacked and routed at Sabine Cross Roads, near Mansfield. They fell back to Pleasant Hill, where the next day a general battle occurred. The Confederates were checked, but the National troops withdrew to Alexandria, having lost 5,000 men, besides artillery and supply-trains. At Alexandria the fleet had great difficulty in descending the river, which was very low, but a dam was constructed which raised the water, and then through a sluice the gun-boats floated down, and the whole force returned to the Mississippi. The expedition had met with such poor success that Banks was replaced by General Canby.

Congress had already decided that the movements of the National forces in all quarters should be under the guidance of one mind and will. To effect this result the grade of lieutenant-general was revived, to which position Grant was appointed by President Lincoln. On the 2d of March the Senate confirmed the nomination, and on the 8th Grant was commis-

sioned commander-in-chief of the Union armies. He soon took his quarters in the field with the Army of the Potomac, commanded by General Meade, his purpose in this quarter being to drive back Lee and capture Richmond. Sherman in the south was to overcome Johnston's army and take possession of Atlanta. These two grand campaigns were successfully carried out and resulted in the termination of the war.

Sherman, now in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, set out from Chattanooga in the early part of May with 100,000 men. General J. E. Johnston opposed him with about half that number. By flank movements and by threatening Johnston's line of supplies, the Union general forced him backward from one position after another. From Dalton Johnston retired to Resaca. Near that place a battle was fought on the 15th of May, as a result of which the Confederates retreated again. Forced from Dallas on the 28th, they soon evacuated Altoona Pass. The Confederate position on Lost Mountain was taken on the 17th of June. On the 27th of this month Sherman met with a severe loss in assaulting the Great Kenesaw Mountain. Now resorting to flank movements once more, Johnston was obliged to retire from his position, and on the 3d of July the National troops entered Marietta. On the 10th of July Johnston's retreat had reached the immediate neighborhood of Atlanta.

Now the Confederate government substituted Hood for Johnston. The latter had made a good retreat before a largely superior force, but a more dashing policy was desired. Hood at once endeavored to justify the change by making a vigorous attack on the Nationals on the 20th of July. He met with a repulse in a severe engagement that cost many lives on both sides. Two days later, and again on the 28th, he made other fierce sallies, only to meet with defeat. In

one of these the Union General McPherson was killed. Sherman devoted his attention to cutting off Hood's supplies, and he finally brought his army into the rear of the town. Hood was incautious enough to separate

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

a large detachment from his force to proceed southward. This body of Confederates was defeated on the last day of August at Jonesboro. Sherman was now between the two parts of the Confederate army, and Hood was forced to evacuate Atlanta. On the

2d of September the National army entered the city. It was one of the strongholds of the Confederacy, but before Hood left he destroyed the extensive magazines, machine-shops, depots, and foundries. Sherman's advance had been an almost incessant fight, either in pitched battles or severe skirmishes. He had lost 30,000 men and the Confederates several thousands more.

Hood now proceeded northward, expecting that Sherman would follow and be drawn away from Georgia. The Union leader, however, pursued the Confederates but a short distance and then returned to Atlanta, sending General Thomas to Nashville to check Hood's advance. General Schofield, who hindered Hood's march to Nashville, was attacked on November 30th at Franklin, Tennessee. A severe battle ensued, in which the Confederates were repulsed with a loss fully twice as great as the Federals suffered. The Union forces were now concentrated at Nashville, whither Hood proceeded. He commenced a siege, but Thomas fell upon the Confederates on the 15th of December, renewed the battle the next day, and drove them back with severe loss. Hood's army was shattered and retired into Alabama, pursued by the victorious Nationals.

Sherman rested his army a while at Atlanta, and in the middle of November commenced his memorable march to the sea. A large part of Atlanta was burned, and with 60,000 men he set out for the coast, 225 miles away. He cut loose from all his communications with the north, determined to rely on the country for subsistence, and plunged into the heart of Georgia. On the 10th of December the Federal forces were close upon Savannah. On the 13th Fort McAllister, south of the city, was stormed and carried. On the night of the 20th General Hardee, who commanded the Confederate forces in Savannah, evacuated the city

and retired to Charleston. The next day the Union army entered the great seaport of Georgia. Their month's march through the state had met with little resistance, and less than 1,000 men had been lost. Large quantities of cotton had been destroyed, the country laid waste, the railroads torn up, and the Confederate armies in the east and west completely separated from each other. Here ended the march to the sea, and here we will leave Sherman at the close of 1864.

In the early part of this year the Army of the Potomac attempted nothing of importance, but at the beginning of May Grant, who was now in the field with Meade, commenced his march on Richmond. It was at about the same time that Sherman moved forward from Chattanooga. The Army of the Potomac in this region numbered about 140,000 men, while Lee's Army of Northern Virginia amounted to about half as many. Grant pushed at once into the country south of the Rappahannock, tangled with thickets and woods, which was known as the Wilderness. Lee at once attacked him, and on the 5th and 6th of May terrible battles were fought, which cost on the two sides 25,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, but brought no decisive result. Grant now made a flank movement toward Spottsylvania Court-House, where fighting commenced on the 9th and did not end till the 12th of the month. Again the carnage was terrible, and the Confederates, protected by intrenchments, lost less than the Nationals. From the midst of the conflict Grant sent his famous dispatch to Washington: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Grant now crossed the Pamunkey and reached Cold Harbor, a dozen miles from Richmond. Here several attacks were made on the Confederate intrenchments. The severest assault occurred on the 3d of June, and

resulted in a severe repulse for the Nationals with a loss of 7,000 men. The losses on both sides had by this time reached a total of 90,000 or 100,000 men, but both had received reenforcements, though the disparity of numbers on the Confederate side was even greater than at the beginning of the campaign. Grant now found that a direct attack on Richmond did not promise success. He therefore changed his base of supplies to the James River and moved on Petersburg. This city was situated about twenty miles south of Richmond, on the other side of the James, and was an important railroad center. The attack on Richmond soon assumed the form of a siege of Petersburg.

GRANT'S CAMPAIGN AROUND RICHMOND.

While Grant was making these movements General Butler had advanced up the James from Fortress Monroe, had captured several Confederate posts, and had taken possession, on the 5th of May, of Bermuda Hundred, lying at the confluence of the James and Appomattox rivers. On the 16th of the month his advance toward Petersburg was checked

by General Beauregard, and Butler fell back to Bermuda Hundred. Here Grant joined him a month later and the army moved on Petersburg. On the 16th and 17th of June some of the outer works were carried by the Nationals, though in a few days they lost 10,000 men and inflicted a loss of only half that

GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

number on the enemy. A siege was the only resource, and that was fairly begun on the 19th of June.

Some stirring events also commenced in May in the Shenandoah Valley, whither Grant had sent General Sigel. On the 15th of the month the Nationals were routed at New Market by Breckinridge. Sigel was

now succeeded by General Hunter, who defeated the Confederates at Piedmont and then advanced against Lynchburg. Finding this place too strong to be successfully attacked, he crossed into West Virginia. Lee soon sent General Early on a raid down the Shenandoah, to cross into Maryland and threaten Washington, hoping that Grant would thus be obliged to raise the siege of Petersburg. Early crossed the Potomac in the beginning of July and defeated the Nationals, under General Wallace, at the Monocacy. But additional troops had by this time been thrown into Washington and the capital was safe. Early, therefore, soon retired across the Potomac with a large booty as the result of his raid. General Wright followed the Confederates, and in the latter part of July defeated a portion of Early's force. But that general turned on the Nationals, drove them across the Potomac, and himself invaded Pennsylvania, burned Chambersburg, and returned with many spoils.

Grant, in the early part of August, appointed General Philip H. Sheridan to the command of the forces in this region, over 30,000 in number. On the 19th of September Sheridan defeated Early at Winchester, and again, three days later, at Fisher's Hill. The National forces now ravaged the valley, and finally took position on Cedar Creek, twenty miles from Winchester. Sheridan left them there temporarily and went to Washington. During his absence Early, who had been re-enforced, fell suddenly on the Union camp on the 19th of October, routed them, and drove them as far as Middletown. Sheridan, however, who was on his way back, heard the firing at Winchester, rode rapidly to the front, reorganized his forces with a word, and led them back to battle. The Confederates were taken unawares, and Sheridan recovered his lost ground in one of the most

brilliant exploits of the war. Early's army had been cut to pieces.

SHERIDAN'S ARRIVAL AT CEDAR CREEK.

Grant, meanwhile, had been prosecuting the siege of Petersburg with vigor. On the 30th of July a mine

was successfully exploded under one of the forts, and an assault was attempted through the breach thus made. But a mistake in the execution of orders caused a failure, with the loss of 4,000 men to the Nationals. On the 18th of August a detachment of Federals seized the Weldon Railroad, which they destroyed for a distance and held against severe attacks. In the latter part of September Butler stormed and carried Fort Harrison, on the James. On the 27th of October a severe engagement occurred near Hatcher's Run, in which the Nationals were not successful. Grant's army now went into winter-quarters, and no more important operations were undertaken this year. Here we leave them for the present.

While Grant and Sherman were prosecuting their campaigns, some events of importance had taken place on the coast of the Confederate States. In August Admiral Farragut undertook an attack on Mobile. The harbor was defended by Forts Gaines and Morgan, by the powerful ram *Tennessee*, and by other vessels. On the 5th of the month Farragut ran his fleet past the forts into the harbor, himself lashed to the maintop rigging of the *Hartford*, where he could watch and direct the movements of his vessels. The forts were passed with little damage, but one Federal iron-clad was blown up by a torpedo. Then the *Tennessee* bore down on the fleet, and a fierce naval combat ensued that secured the surrender of the *Tennessee* and a National victory. On the 7th of the month Fort Gaines capitulated, on the 23d Fort Morgan surrendered, and the port of Mobile was effectually blockaded.

On the 27th of October Lieutenant Cushing, with a small party of volunteers, performed a daring and brilliant exploit. Cushing attacked the formidable ram *Albemarle* in the Roanoke River with a torpedo carried in a small steamer. He succeeded in blowing

up the Confederate vessel, but himself and a single companion alone escaped the catastrophe. Albemarle Sound thus was relieved of Confederate control, and the town of Plymouth, from which the Nationals had previously been driven, was recaptured.

In December a strong squadron, under Admiral Porter, and a land-force, under General Butler, proceeded against Fort Fisher, which commanded the Cape Fear River and the port of Wilmington. A terrible bombardment was commenced, but it left the fort so far uninjured that an attack by the soldiers was deemed inexpedient, and Butler returned to Fortress Monroe with his forces. The fleet, however, remained, and in January of 1865 another land-force, under General Terry, was sent to the spot. Another fierce bombardment followed, and then the land-forces carried the fort by storm on January 15th.

SINKING THE ALABAMA.

In the very beginning of the war the Confederate government had granted commissions to privateers, and much damage was done to northern commerce by these cruisers. In the first year of the war the *Sumter* sailed from New Orleans and the *Nashville* from Charleston. The former was finally forced into the harbor of Gibraltar, where she had to be sold. The latter was sunk by a National vessel in 1863. When the blockade grew closer on southern ports the cruisers were built or fitted out in England, where this violation of neutrality was winked at by the British government. From Liverpool sailed the *Florida*, which captured many northern merchantmen

before she was herself taken in a Brazilian harbor. The *Georgia*, the *Shenandoah*, and other vessels built in England ravaged the seas, and the *Shenandoah* continued her course till the war closed.

The most famous of all these cruisers was the *Alabama*. She was built, armed, and manned by the British, and often carried the British flag. Commanded by Raphael Semmes, she captured or destroyed during her career over sixty vessels and $10,000,000 worth of property. Her last battle was fought off the harbor of Cherbourg, France, on the 19th of June, 1864, with the *Kearsarge*, commanded by Captain Winslow. After a fierce struggle for an hour the *Alabama* struck her flag, and soon after sunk beneath the waves.

In the fall of this year the Presidential election occurred, in which the Confederate States of course did not participate. Abraham Lincoln was renominated for a second term by the Republican party and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was the candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic candidates were General George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton. McClellan advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war, though his party was not enthusiastic, as a rule, for its continuance. He secured only the votes of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky, and Lincoln and Johnson were elected by a tremendous majority. On the 31st of October a new state, Nevada, was added to the Union. The discovery of gold and silver in this region had led to its rapid development. On the 1st of November the money-order system was established in connection with the postal service.

The year 1864 was one of marked success for the National cause, and the end of the war was now close at hand.

CHAPTER LXI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED—CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR—1865.

Sherman moves northward—Columbia and Charleston taken—Further events—Johnston again in command of the Confederates—He surrenders—Raids of Wilson and Stoneman—Sheridan at Waynesboro—Five Forks—Petersburg and Richmond evacuated—Lee's attempts to escape—His surrender—End of the war—Jefferson Davis captured—Assassination of Lincoln—Death of Booth—Execution of the conspirators—Lincoln's burial—Cost of the Civil War in men and money—Financial depression—Congressional action—Results of the war.

The conclusion of Sherman's and Grant's campaigns brought the war to a close in the spring of 1865. We left the former general in Savannah at the close of the previous year. About the 1st of February he moved northward, overcame the slight opposition that was offered to his advance, and on the 17th of the month received the surrender of Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. The Confederate soldiers before withdrawing had set the city on fire, and a large part of it was destroyed. On the same day General Hardee, who commanded the Confederates at Charleston, knowing that Columbia was destined, determined to withdraw. He applied the torch and during the night evacuated Charleston. On the 18th the National flag again floated over Sumter and the other forts in the vicinity, and the Federals from James and Morris islands entered the city. By vigorous efforts the flames were checked, but not before the

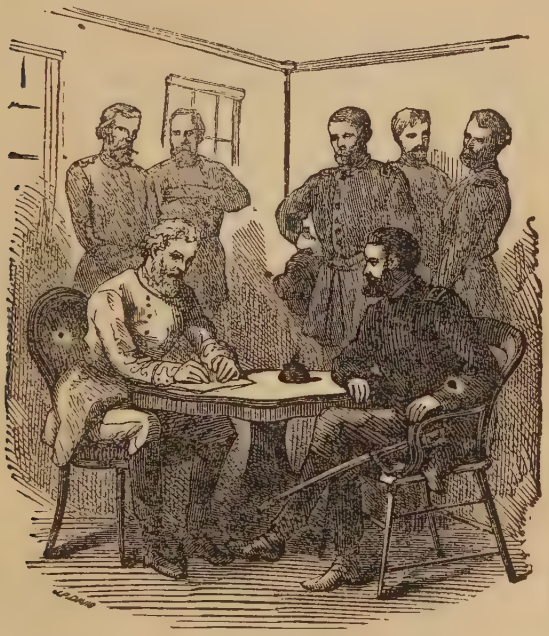
fire had done much damage and caused the explosion of a large quantity of powder at the Northwestern Railroad station, which cost the lives of 200 persons.

Sherman continued his advance into North Carolina. General Slocum joined him at Winnsboro, the Great Pedee was crossed at Cheraw, and on the 11th of March Fayetteville was occupied. Johnston was now once more in command of the Confederate army, which embraced Hardee's force and numbered 40,000 men. An engagement occurred at Averysborough on the 16th of March, which resulted in a Federal victory. Three days later a severe battle was fought at Bentonville, where the Nationals held their ground. During the night they were re-enforced and Johnston withdrew. On the 21st Sherman entered Goldsboro. Here he was heavily re-enforced by Generals Schofield and Terry. He turned toward Raleigh. On the 26th of April Johnston, who knew that Lee had already succumbed to Grant's resistless campaign and that a continuance of the struggle was useless, surrendered his army at Durham Station.

Meanwhile General Wilson, with a force of Federal cavalry, starting from Eastport, on the Tennessee, had captured Selma and Montgomery, in Alabama, and Columbus and Macon, in Georgia, had taken numerous prisoners and cannon, and had done great damage to Confederate property. General Stoneman also had made a successful raid from Knoxville, Tennessee, into the southwestern part of Virginia and thence to Salisbury, North Carolina, tearing up scores of miles of the railroads and taking many Confederate prisoners and pieces of artillery.

The decisive struggle in Virginia was begun by Sheridan. That general moved from his position on the Shenandoah, scattered Early's forces at Waynesboro on the 27th of February, and within a month joined Grant at Petersburg. In that quarter Grant's

movement by the left provoked a conflict at Five Forks on the 1st of April, from which the Union troops emerged successful. That night a heavy cannonade was opened on Petersburg. The next day



LEE AND GRANT SIGNING THE TERMS OF SURRENDER.

some of the works were carried. Resistance was no longer of use. Lee telegraphed to Davis, at Richmond, that the cities must be evacuated. It was done, and on the 3d of April Federal troops entered Petersburg and the capital of the Confederate government.

The only hope now left for Lee was to break through the National lines, which were drawing closer and closer, and join Johnston's army in North Carolina. The troops from Richmond and Petersburg were concentrated and moved westward. Two or three days were lost in collecting provisions, for by a mistake in the orders the Confederate supply-train had not kept with the army. The delay was fatal. Sheridan, pressing hard upon Lee, fell upon Ewell's corps near Deatonville and captured it. The main body of the Confederates, however, kept on and crossed the Appomattox. An attempt to seize the Lynchburg railroad was defeated by Sheridan. On the 7th of April Grant proposed that Lee's army be surrendered, but the Confederate general was not ready to take the decisive step. But the hope of retreat was soon cut off and no resource was left. In the afternoon of the 9th of April the two opposing leaders met in the house of William McLean, at Appomattox Court-House, and Grant received from Lee the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. By the terms of the surrender the officers and men were paroled and were not to take up arms again till exchanged. The public property of the Confederates, arms, ammunition, and supplies, was turned over to the conquerors.

This was the conclusive act of the war; there were no more important engagements. Johnston's army surrendered on April 26th, as we have already narrated. By the middle of May all the Confederate forces east of the Mississippi surrendered, and on the 26th of that month those beyond the Mississippi laid down their arms. The Civil War was ended.

The President and Cabinet of the Confederate government had retired from Richmond to Danville. When the last ray of hope perished Davis fled to Georgia, where, on the 10th of May, he was captured near Irwinsville. He was taken to Fortress Monroe,

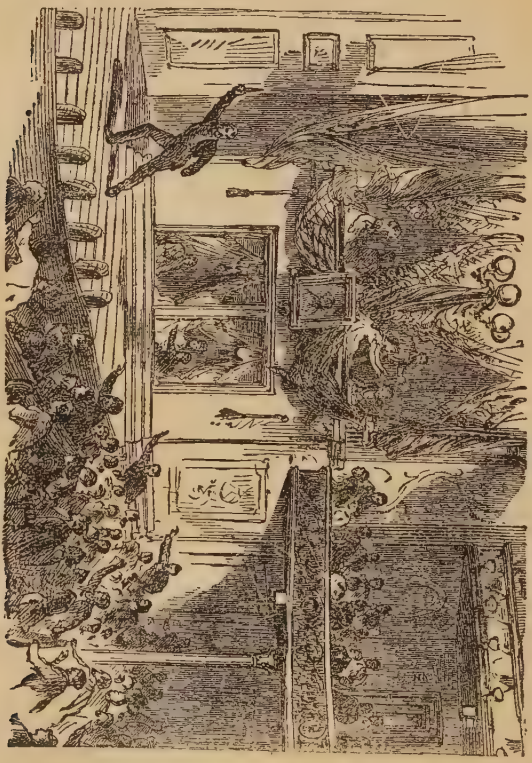
where he remained as a prisoner till May, 1867, when he was brought to trial on a charge of treason. But he was admitted to bail, the trial was never held, and he was afterward included in the general amnesty of December 25, 1868. Thus the nation showed its desire that antagonisms aroused by the war should cease finally and forever.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Lincoln had been inaugurated for his second term of office. After the evacuation of Richmond he visited that city and then returned to Washington. On the night of the 14th of April he was seated with his wife in a box at Ford's Theater. During the performance an actor, John Wilkes Booth, crept into the box, sent a pistol-ball crashing through the President's brain, leaped to the stage with the cry of "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" and escaped by a back entrance. Lincoln was borne from the theater and lingered till the morning of the 15th, when he died.

An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Secretary Seward was made on the same evening when Booth fired his fatal shot. The wildest excitement was aroused. It was believed that a plot had been formed to murder the principal members of the government. The conspirators were hunted down. Booth was found in a barn south of Fredericksburg and mortally wounded in the attempt to capture him. Four others, including Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, who were connected—or supposed to be connected—with the conspiracy were tried and hung, and others were sent to prison.

The assassination of Lincoln caused the utmost alarm and the profoundest sorrow throughout the north. It was a tragic ending of life to the man whose genius and wisdom had guided the nation through the four most turbulent years which this country had ever seen. At the very hour of triumph

for the cause to which he had devoted his whole soul and energy he was stricken down. His remains were conveyed to Springfield, Illinois, where a splendid



ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

monument now marks the last resting-place of a noble man.

The Civil War had assumed enormous proportions

during its progress. The National government had called into service 2,600,000 men, of whom about 1,500,000 were in active service. The Confederate armies numbered about 600,000 men in the field. Three hundred thousand men on each side had been killed, mortally wounded, or had died in camp, hospital, or prison. Four hundred thousand more Federals and Confederates were crippled or disabled for

TOMB OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

life by wounds and disease. The United States thus lost 1,000,000 able-bodied men during the conflict.

The war had also added tremendously to the national debt. In June, 1860, that debt amounted to about $65,000,000; in January, 1866, it had reached the vast amount of over $2,800,000,000. The Confederate debt of $2,000,000,000 was, of course, never paid. The expenses of the National government at one time reached the large figure of $3,500,000 a day. The ex-

tensive destruction of property and loss of labor must also be added to the cost of the war. In 1861 the finances of the North had sunk to such a low ebb, and gold and silver had so advanced in value, that in December the banks of New York suspended specie payment and those of other cities were soon obliged to follow their example.

To remove these difficulties and meet the enormous expenditures Congress adopted several measures. One of these authorized the issue of legal-tender notes, called greenbacks, to the extent of $150,000,000. United States bonds, bearing interest, were also issued—"five-twenties," to be redeemed in not less than five nor more than twenty years, and "ten-forties," whose time of redemption was to be between ten and forty years. Internal revenue taxes were levied, and increased duties were assessed on imported merchandise. In February, 1863, an act was passed to establish national banks, which should employ the national bonds as the foundation for their currency and the guarantee of its redemption. Thus the money was obtained for carrying on the war and the financial distress was in part relieved.

The result of the war had been two-fold. In the first place, it had been conclusively proven by the force of arms that the people of the United States would never admit the right of a state to secede from the Union, that the National government was supreme, and that the country was a nation and not a confederation of sovereign states. In the second place, the death-blow was given to slavery. The Emancipation Proclamation abolished it as a "military necessity" in that part of the country which had taken up arms against the national authority, and soon an amendment to the Constitution was to abolish it by law throughout the Union. These results had been secured at a frightful expenditure of men

and money. The country was shaken and disturbed from end to end. The position of those states which had joined the Confederate government was a grave problem to statesmen. With the cessation of the bitter struggle, waged for four long years courageously and devotedly on both sides, and with the restoration of peace and the attempts to restore quiet and harmony throughout the land, begins the period in our history of Reconstruction and Peace.

Sixth Period.

Reconstruction and Peace.

SIXTH PERIOD.

RECONSTRUCTION AND PEACE.

CHAPTER LXII.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION—1865–1869.

Sketch of Johnson—The Thirteenth Amendment—Amnesty proclaimed—Napoleon's Mexican schemes—Execution of Maximilian—Presidential and Congressional views of reconstruction—Johnson and Congress come into conflict—Bitterness of the former—The Fourteenth Amendment—Tennessee readmitted to the Union—Reconstruction bills—Nebraska becomes a state—Seven southern states readmitted to the Union—Impeachment of President Johnson—His acquittal—Further proclamations of amnesty—The Fourteenth Amendment adopted—The Atlantic cable—A Bankrupt Act passed—Alaska purchased—Grant and Colfax elected.

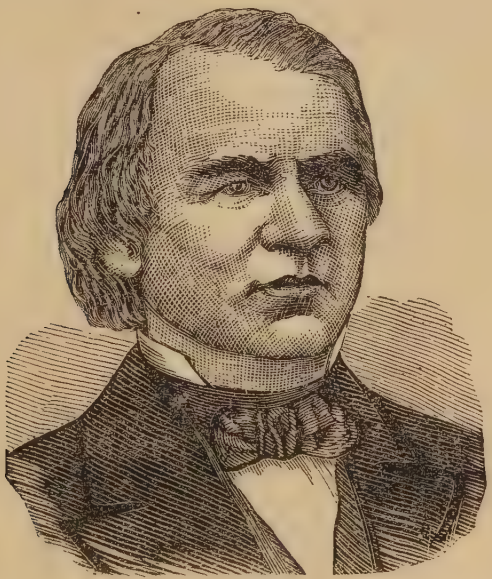
The fears which the assassination of Lincoln caused throughout the north that the government would be thrown into hopeless confusion were happily not realized. A few hours after Lincoln's death, on the 15th of April, 1865, Andrew Johnson took the oath of office as President. He was somewhat over fifty-six years of age, having been born in North Carolina in December, 1808. During his youth he removed to Tennessee, where he grew up. He did not know how to write and cipher till taught by his young wife, but he rapidly developed and became prominent in the affairs of his state and country. He was elected to the House of Representatives, and afterward was sent to

the United States Senate. During the war he had been appointed military governor of Tennessee, and in the fall of 1864 he was elected by the Republican party as Vice-President. He had been in favor of an active prosecution of the war, and his expressions of opinion when he assumed the Presidency seemed to promise a severe policy toward the South. But he pursued in the end quite a different course, which exasperated the North because of its apparent southern sympathies.

Congress in the early part of 1865 had already passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery anywhere within the limits of the United States. By the following December the requisite number of states had given their assent, and the institution of slavery, that had been such an important factor in our national history, ceased forever in this country. On the 29th of May the President issued a Proclamation of Amnesty, by which those who had taken up arms against the National government might obtain pardon and renewed citizenship on taking an oath of allegiance, except those in certain specified classes, who, however, might be pardoned on special application to the President. During the summer of 1865 the army was disbanded and the soldiers returned to peaceful occupations.

While the Civil War was in progress the French emperor Napoleon III. undertook to set up an empire in Mexico. In 1864 Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was given the crown of Mexico, and a French and Austrian army supported his authority. But the United States remonstrated at this violation of the Monroe Doctrine, a revolution occurred in Mexico, the foreign army was withdrawn, and Maximilian, now unsupported, was overthrown and finally taken prisoner. He was condemned to death by a court-martial and shot in June, 1867.

It was not long after Johnson's inauguration before a serious rupture commenced between the President and Congress, which was controlled by a strong Republican majority. The President, holding that the acts of secession passed by the southern states were null and void, and therefore that those states



ANDREW JOHNSON.

had never been out of the Union, desired to pursue a civil policy of reorganization. Congress, however, maintained that although these acts were unconstitutional, the states which had adopted them had ceased to be members of the Union for the time being. It therefore advocated a military system of

reconstruction, and held that the southern states must be again admitted to the Union, with such guarantees as Congress might deem necessary.

The President followed out his plan by appointing provisional governors in the various southern states. On the 9th of May he announced the restoration of relations between Virginia and the Federal government. In June the restrictions on trade with the South were removed, and in September another and wider proclamation of amnesty was issued. When Congress met in December of 1865 it devoted itself at once to its own scheme of reorganization. During the session the Civil Rights Bill was passed, to secure the privileges of citizenship to all persons, white or colored. In March, 1866, the President vetoed the bill, which was promptly passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote.

Johnson in public speeches strongly opposed the spirit displayed by Congress, especially on a trip which he made with part of his Cabinet and other officials to Chicago on the occasion of the dedication of a monument to Senator Douglas. While he was "swinging around the circle," as it was termed, he attempted to secure the indorsement of his policy by the people. His speeches were exceedingly bitter, and even went the length of declaring that the position assumed by Congress was a new rebellion.

Congress had pursued its own course, and submitted to the states for ratification the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing among other things for the equal rights of all citizens, white or black. Tennessee, having given its assent to this measure, was readmitted to the Union in July, 1866. When Congress commenced its next session in December, 1866, it continued its work. Bills were passed providing that no state should be readmitted except on ratifying the Fourteenth Amend-

ment; that the territory of Nebraska should be admitted as a state on the same condition and on granting equal suffrage to all citizens; that a similar extension of the right of suffrage should be made in the District of Columbia; and that the South should be divided into five districts under military governors to be appointed by the President. Johnson vetoed all of these bills, but they were passed over his veto. On the 1st of March, 1867, Nebraska became the thirty-seventh state of the Union.

Johnson appointed the military governors for the south, but after consultation with Attorney-General Stanbery, who declared the act unconstitutional, he issued orders to the governors which, in large measure, nullified the act of Congress. That body, however, afterward passed over the President's veto an act declaring the meaning of the previous one, and despite continued obstructions its work went on. In June and July of the next year, 1868, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas were readmitted to the Union.

The course of the President finally led to his impeachment. As far back as January, 1867, a movement with this purpose in view had been commenced in the House of Representatives. In the latter part of that year the feeling against him was aggravated by his removal of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and the appointment of General Grant in his place. The Senate refused to support the change, and Stanton was reinstated. In February, 1868, Johnson again removed Stanton and appointed in his place Lorenzo Thomas, the Adjutant-General. Stanton refused to vacate the office. The House of Representatives, believing that Johnson had violated the provisions of law, resolved the very next day that the President "be impeached of high crimes and misde-

meanors." On the 3d of March the House decided finally on the charges that were to be brought against the President. These were, in brief, that he had unlawfully removed Stanton; that he had declared that the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a legally constituted body; and that he had failed to properly execute its acts. The articles of impeachment were at once submitted to the Senate, before which body, presided over by Chief Justice Chase, the trial began on March 23d. The proceedings continued for two months, and on the 26th of May Johnson was acquitted by one vote. A two-thirds majority was necessary to convict, and the vote stood 35 to 19.

Johnson issued another proclamation of amnesty on the 4th of July, 1868, and finally, on December 25th of that year, he pardoned all who had participated in the Civil War against the government. In July, 1868, it was announced that the Fourteenth Amendment had been ratified by the necessary number of states, and had therefore become a part of the Constitution.

In 1866 Cyrus Field, of New York, succeeded in laying another Atlantic cable in place of the one laid in 1858, a defect in which had soon prevented its use. This new cable was laid by the immense steamship *Great Eastern*. In 1867 a Bankrupt Act was passed by Congress. In the same year the territory of the United States was increased to the extent of 580,000 square miles, more than the entire area of the thirteen original states, by the purchase of Alaska from Russia. The price paid was $7,200,000. The region is chiefly valuable for its fisheries, its forests, and its furs.

In the fall of 1868 the national election occurred. The Democratic nominees were Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. The Republican party put forward General Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana. The campaign was fought chiefly on the issues grow-

ing out of the war, and the Republican party in its platform upheld its action in Congress. Grant and Colfax were elected by a large majority of the electoral college, though the popular vote was more evenly divided.

CHAPTER LXIII.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION—1869–1877.

Sketch of Grant—The Union Pacific Railroad completed—"Black Friday"—The Fifteenth Amendment adopted—Remaining southern states readmitted to the Union—The ninth census—The Hayti commission—The *Virginius*—Settlement of the "Alabama Claims" by arbitration—End of the northwestern boundary question—Fires in Chicago and Boston—Grant re-elected—Wilson Vice-President—Death of Greeley—Trouble with the Modoc Indians—The Credit Mobilier scandal—The panic of 1873—Difficulty with the Sioux Indians—The Custer massacre—Admission of Colorado to the Union—The Centennial Exposition—Deaths of prominent men—The Presidential campaign—A dispute as to the result—A commission appointed—Hayes and Wheeler declared elected.

Ulysses S. Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822. When inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1869, he was therefore forty-seven years of age. He was graduated from the military academy at West Point in 1843, and served with honor in the Mexican War. He afterward resigned his commission in the army and retired to private life. The outbreak of the Civil War found him at Galena, Illinois, engaged with his father in the leather business. He at once took an active part in the conflict and rose rapidly in rank till he reached the highest possible step, and was commissioned lieutenant-general in 1864. His actions during the war and the foremost position he occupied in bringing it to a close have already been described.

In the first year of the new administration the

great work of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the country by railroad was accomplished. On the 10th of May, 1869, the last tie was laid and the last spike driven at Ogden, Utah, and the Union Pacific Railroad was completed.

In the fall of the same year a disastrous panic

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

occurred, brought about by the proceedings of certain speculators in the value of gold. They secured large quantities of the precious coin, and then managed to force the price up to 160 cents on the dollar. On the 24th of September, afterward known as "Black Friday," the Secretary of the Treasury,

George S. Boutwell, ordered the sale of $4,000,000 from the sub-treasury. The "corner" of the speculators was broken and many fortunes were lost in the crash that followed.

Before the expiration of Johnson's term of office Congress had passed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment received the sanction of the requisite number of states, and on the 30th of March, 1870, was proclaimed by the President as part of the Constitution. In the same year the work of reconstruction was completed by the readmission into the Union of Virginia, Mississippi, and, on the 30th of March, Texas. Their representatives once more took their seats in Congress, and the nation of thirty-eight states was again complete.

The census of 1870 showed that the nation had grown wonderfully despite the ravages of civil war. Ten years before the population had been nearly 31,500,000; now it was over 38,500,000. The greater rate of increase in the west had brought the center of population to a spot about fifty miles east of Cincinnati.

In 1871 a commission was appointed by the President to visit Hayti and make inquiries as to the advisability of annexing that island to the United States. They reported favorably on the plan of annexation, which also had the President's sanction, but Congress rejected the measure. In 1873 a vessel named the *Virginius* was seized by the Spanish authorities on the suspicion of carrying munitions of war to insurgents in Cuba. Our government opened a vigorous correspondence and the vessel was finally surrendered.

The Confederate cruisers built and equipped in England during the Civil War had done an immense amount of damage to the property of United States citizens. The English government in allowing such preparations against a friendly nation within its jurisdiction had violated international law, and the United States claimed a large recompense for the injuries received. The greater part of the damage had been caused by the *Alabama*, and hence these demands were called the "Alabama Claims." For a settlement of the difficulty commissioners of each nation met in Washington in 1871, and agreed to submit the claims to a tribunal of arbitration composed of men appointed by the two countries concerned and of others appointed by friendly nations. This court met at Geneva, Switzerland, and on the 14th of September, 1872, it was decided that Great Britain should pay to our government $15,500,000, which was done within a year.

Between England and the United States there was still an unsettled question growing out of the treaty of 1846 concerning the precise boundary-line of the two nations in the channel separating Vancouver's Island from the main-land. The dispute was referred to William I., Emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the United States.

In October, 1871, one of the most extensive fires recorded in history broke out in Chicago, and before it ceased swept over three and one-third miles of the city, caused the loss of 200 lives, and destroyed property to the value of about $200,000,000. A year later, in November, 1872, Boston was also visited by a great conflagration, which swept over sixty-five acres of ground and destroyed property to the value of $80,000,000.

The election which occurred in the fall of 1872 was one of intense excitement. On its record during the

Civil War and in the work of reconstructing the Union the Republican party asked the suffrages of the people and renominated Grant as its standard-bearer, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. The "Liberal Republicans" and Democrats, dissatisfied with the policy of the opposing party, put forward for the office of President Horace Greeley, the distinguished editor of the New York *Tribune*, and filled the second place on the ticket with the name of B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri. The Republican candidates were elected by a large majority, and Greeley died within a month after the election. Grant and Wilson took the oath of office on the 4th of March, 1873.

Meanwhile trouble arose with the Modoc Indians in Oregon. Captain Jack's band refused to go upon a reservation which the government had designated. Troops were sent against them in the fall of 1872, but they retreated to the volcanic region known as the Lava Beds and could not be conquered. A peace conference held with them in April, 1873, was broken up by their treacherous murder of General Canby and Dr. Thomas. About the 1st of June, however, General Davis forced them to surrender and Captain Jack and others were executed.

About the time when Grant's second term commenced a great official scandal occurred. A joint stock company had been organized in 1863, under the title of the Credit Mobilier of America, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of public works. Its charter was purchased in 1867 by a company interested in the construction of a Pacific railroad, and the capital was increased to $3,750,000. The stock rose in value and large dividends were paid. In 1872 a lawsuit brought out the fact that several members of Congress and the Vice-President himself owned or had owned some of the stock. As its value depended

largely on Congressional action, the country was shocked to think that the votes of its representatives might have been purchased. A Congressional investigation developed several cases of corruption.

Meanwhile a charter and large subsidies had been granted by Congress for the construction of a Northern Pacific railroad from Lake Superior westward. The prospect of future subsidies was destroyed by the Credit Mobilier scandal, and the stock of the Northern Pacific fell to a low point. This caused the failure of the banking-house of Jay Cooke and Company, of Philadelphia. Other failures followed, and the fall of 1873 witnessed another severe panic. The fluctuation in the amount and value of the national currency had not a little to do with this disaster.

In the last year of Grant's administration trouble arose with the Sioux Indians in the Black Hills region, on the borders of Montana and Wyoming. The invasion of their reservation by gold-hunters gave the Indians an excuse for committing depredations. The government sent a large force of regulars against them, under the lead of Generals Terry, Crook, Custer, and Reno. On the 25th of June, 1876, the two latter attacked at different points a large Indian village, situated on the Little Horn River. General Custer was killed, with 261 men of the Seventh Cavalry, and fifty-two were wounded. General Reno held his ground till re-enforcements saved him. Additional troops were now sent to the spot, the Indians were defeated in a number of engagements, and finally, in the beginning of the next year, 1877, the Indian chief Sitting Bull and some of his followers escaped into Canada.

The year 1876 was the hundredth anniversary of our independence. It was marked by the sad disaster to Custer and his soldiers; by an exciting Presiden-

tial election; by the admission of Colorado—the thirty-eighth and, so far, the last state—to the Union on the 4th of July; and especially by the Centennial Exposition. As early as 1870 a plan was formed for holding in Philadelphia a great international exhibition. The matter was taken up by Congress, money was appropriated by that body and by various state and city governments, a centennial commission was appointed, and the success of the scheme was assured.

Fairmount Park, in Philadelphia, was selected as the site, and vast buildings, covering many acres of ground, were erected. Chief among these were the main exhibition building, art gallery, machinery hall, horticultural hall, and agricultural hall. The exposition was opened on the 10th of May and closed on the 10th of November, 1876, with appropriate ceremonies. Thirty-three nations were represented by their exhibits. Such a sight our country had never before witnessed. Nearly 10,000,000 persons visited it, and over $3,700,000 were received for admissions. The average daily attendance was nearly 62,000.

During Grant's administration a remarkable number of men whose names have become part of our history passed from among the living. In 1869 there died Edwin M. Stanton and ex-President Pierce; in 1870, General Lee, General Thomas, and Admiral Farragut; in 1872, William H. Seward, Horace Greely, General Meade, and Professor Morse; in 1873, Chief Justice Chase; in 1874, Charles Sumner; and in 1875, ex-President Johnson, John C. Breckinridge, and the Vice-President, Henry Wilson.

In the Presidential election in the fall of 1876 three parties clamored for popular favor. The Independent Greenback party demanded a reform in the currency of the nation and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio; but these

candidates did not secure a single electoral vote. The Democratic party demanded reform in the public service and nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The Republican party, asserting its willingness to pursue thorough reform methods and standing on its record in the Civil War and reconstruction measures, nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York. The contest was exciting, and so close was the vote that the election was claimed by both parties.

Frauds in voting in several states, particularly in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, were charged, and threats of another civil war were even heard. The difficulty was finally settled by Congress. A commission was chosen consisting of five members each from the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court, and to this tribunal of fifteen the returns of disputed states were referred. The conclusion of the matter was reached on the 2d of March, only two days before the time for inauguration. The Republican candidates were declared elected by a vote of 185 to 184 in the electoral college. The greatest crisis in our political history was thus passed without violence.

CHAPTER LXIV.

HAYES' ADMINISTRATION—1877–1881.

Sketch of Hayes—His policy—Railroad strikes—Trouble with the Nez Percé Indians—Financial legislation—Resumption of specie payments—Yellow fever—The Newfoundland fisheries question—A Chinese embassy at Washington—The life-saving service—The Ute Indians—The tenth census—Deaths of Bryant and Bayard Taylor—Presidential vetoes—The Panama canal—The Presidential campaign—Election of Garfield and Arthur.

Rutherford B. Hayes was quietly inaugurated on the 5th of March, 1877, the 4th of the month falling on Sunday. The new President was in his fifty-fifth year, having been born in Delaware, Ohio, in October, 1822. He was graduated at Kenyon College in 1842, and finished his study of law at Harvard three years later. He practiced law till the outbreak of the Civil War, then entered the army, served with distinction in various battles, among which were South Mountain and Cedar Creek, and reached the rank of brigadier-general and brevet major-general. In 1864 he was elected to Congress, where he took his seat in December, 1865, and was afterward re-elected. He was governor of Ohio two terms in succession and was again elected in 1875.

The President did much during his administration in paving the way for an effective reform of the civil departments of the government. He also followed a conciliatory policy toward the South, which was evidenced by his appointing as Postmaster-General David M. Key, of Tennessee, who had been a leader in

the Confederate army. During his term of office the nation took a long step away from the animosities and difficulties that had grown out of the Civil War.

In the summer of 1877 the country was agitated by wide-spread railroad strikes. Several of the great railroads running from the Atlantic seaboard ordered

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

a reduction in the wages of their *employés*, which was violently resisted. The trains were blockaded at Martinsburg, West Virginia, about the middle of July; the strikers held their ground against the militia, and were only dispersed by troops of the regular army whom the President ordered to the spot. On the

20th of July a riot occurred in Baltimore in which several lives were lost. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was the scene of the greatest disturbance. A mob, thousands in number, held possession of the city for two days. The buildings of the railroad company, many of their locomotives, and hundreds of cars with valuable freight were burned. Property was destroyed to the extent of over $3,000,000 in value, and about 100 lives were lost before the disturbance was quelled by the militia and regulars. Rioting also occurred in New York State, in Kentucky, at Reading, Chicago, and other places. For a fortnight the business of the country was paralyzed, but quiet was gradually restored.

Trouble with the Nez Percé Indians of Idaho, led by their chief, Joseph, had commenced during Grant's administration. It now assumed a formidable character, and General Howard was sent against them. The Indians were finally hemmed in and completely subdued in October, 1877, by a battle in which Colonel Miles led the United States troops.

Financial questions occupied a prominent place during Hayes' administration. In 1875 Congress had passed an act for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879. After that date the legal-tender notes of the United States were to be redeemed in coin whenever presented. Attention now began to be directed to the acts of 1873–74 by which silver had been demonetized and gold made the sole standard of value. A clamor was raised throughout the country for the restoration of silver as a legal tender. Congress yielded to the popular demand and in February, 1878, passed over the President's veto the "Bland Bill," restoring the silver dollar to our currency and providing for its compulsory coinage in the mints. On the 1st of January, 1879, specie payments were resumed without any disastrous effect on

the commercial interests of the country. For nearly seventeen years gold and silver had been at a premium over paper money. Now the balance was restored, and the financial depression which had existed for some years was remedied. The Bankrupt Act was repealed in 1878.

A frightful visitation of yellow fever oppressed the valley of the lower Mississippi in the summer of 1878. Commencing in New Orleans, the insidious disease made its way through city after city and town after town as far north as Louisville. Twenty thousand people suffered and 7,000 perished from the plague. The northern states made splendid contributions of men and money to aid their afflicted brethren in the south.

In November, 1877, was settled a difficulty with Great Britain concerning the Newfoundland fisheries. The same commission that met at Washington in 1871 and decided on the method of settling the Alabama claims provided for a similar adjustment of the fisheries dispute. The body to whom this matter was referred met at Halifax and ordered an award of $5,500,000 to be paid by our government to Great Britain. Though this award was felt to be unjust, the United States paid the amount.

The year 1878 was marked by the establishment at Washington of a resident Chinese embassy and by the adoption of a plan for the present admirable life-saving service which patrols the dangerous parts of our coasts to aid shipwrecked vessels and mariners. In the fall of 1879 an outbreak of the Ute Indians occurred which cost the lives of the government agent, of Major Thornburgh, and of a number of soldiers before it was quelled.

The census of 1880 showed a population of over 50,000,000, with its center at Cincinnati. Twenty cities could be counted in the Union with over 100,000

inhabitants. New York, with a population of over 1,200,000, was still the first city in the country, and New York State, with over 5,000,000 inhabitants, was the most populous state in the Union. During Hayes' administration the national debt was reduced over $200,000,000.

Prominent among the names of eminent persons who died during these four years were those of William Cullen Bryant and Bayard Taylor, both of splendid literary reputation and the latter our minister to Germany. Both passed away in 1878.

During his term of office President Hayes vetoed a bill for the restriction of Chinese immigration to this country, and also bills for preventing the presence of United States troops at the polls to preserve order at the national elections. In 1880 M. de Lesseps, the constructor of the Suez Canal, visited this country in connection with an enterprise for cutting a similar canal through the Isthmus of Panama. The President, in March of this year, declared in a message to Congress that the United States should maintain control over any such canal sufficient to protect our national interests.

During the summer of 1880 four political parties put candidates in the field. The nominees of the Republicans were General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York; of the Democrats, General Winfield S. Hancock, stationed at New York, and William H. English, of Indiana; of the National Greenback party, General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and General Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas; and of the Prohibition party, Neal Dow, of Maine, and John W. Phelps, of Vermont. The Greenback party advocated financial reforms; the Prohibition party desired national legislation against the sale of liquor; the Democratic party maintained its old principles and advised lower duties on im-

ported goods—a "tariff for revenue only;" the Republican party stood on its record for the last twenty years. The electoral votes were divided between the candidates of the last two parties. Every southern state voted for Hancock and English, and almost all the north for Garfield and Arthur. The latter were elected by a considerable electoral and a small popular majority.

CHAPTER LXV.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR—1881–1885.

Sketch of Garfield—Civil Service Reform—The "Half-breeds" and "Stalwarts"—Conkling and Platt resign—Assassination of Garfield—His death and burial—Arthur becomes President—Sketch of his life—Trial and execution of Guiteau—The "Star Route" frauds—Arctic expeditions—The East River Bridge and Northern Pacific Railroad completed—Bartholdi's statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World"—The Washington monument—Riot in Cincinnati—Congressional legislation—Chinese immigration prohibited—The Presidential campaign—Cleveland and Hendricks elected—The Democratic party is restored to power.

James A. Garfield, the twentieth President of the United States, was inaugurated, in his fiftieth year, on the 4th of March, 1881. He was born in Ohio in November, 1831. His father died in his infancy, and his mother was left in poverty with a family to bring up. The boy as he grew in strength did what he could for the family by working as a carpenter and a farmer, and the period of youth found the future president a driver and then a pilot of a canal-boat. By hard labor and perseverance he earned his livelihood and prepared himself for college. He studied and taught at first in Hiram College, Ohio, and then went to Williams College, in Massachusetts, from which institution he was graduated in 1856. He afterward returned to Hiram College as a professor, and finally became its president. He commenced the practice of law, and was elected to the

Ohio senate. He entered into active service in the Civil War as an officer of the Ohio volunteers, became a brigadier-general, served as chief of staff

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

to General Rosecrans, and distinguished himself at Chickamauga. While still with the army he was elected to Congress, where he served his country for sixteen years, during which time he occupied a prominent position in the Republican party. He had been

elected to the United States Senate, but his election as President prevented his ever sitting in that body.

On the day following his inauguration the President sent to the Senate the nominations for Cabinet officers. At the head of the list was James G. Blaine, and the names were promptly confirmed.

The very commencement of Garfield's administration brought into prominence the question of Civil Service Reform. Since the days of Jackson each inauguration had seen an increased demand for positions in the government service by those who had aided the successful candidate. The Republican party at this time was divided into two factions which entertained bitter feelings toward each other. The one faction, known as the "Half-breeds," was led by Blaine; the other, called the "Stalwarts," found an able leader in Roscoe Conkling, Senator from New York. Both wings of the party had united to elect Garfield, but on his inauguration the animosities were increased, and the "Half-breeds" favored, by Blaine's appointment as Secretary of State. The "Stalwarts," in the Republican convention of 1880, had supported with a considerable and continuous vote the nomination of General Grant as Presidential candidate.

One of the best offices in the gift of the President and Senate is the collectorship of the port of New York. Garfield nominated for this office William H. Robertson, who was disliked by the "Stalwarts." Conkling opposed the confirmation of this appointment, but he was unable to control the action of the Senate. He and his colleague, Thomas C. Platt, at once resigned. A bitter contest followed in the New York legislature for the election of their successors. Conkling and Platt were candidates for a re-election, which would indorse the position they had assumed. In their efforts, however, they were not successful.

In the midst of this excitement the country was startled and stricken with sorrow from end to end by the sad news that was telegraphed from the capital on the 2d of July, 1881. On the morning of that day President Garfield entered the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad depot at Washington arm in arm with Secretary Blaine. He was about to take the train for a trip to New England. As he was walking through the station two pistol-shots rang out on the air, and the President fell, wounded by one of the bullets in the back. He was quickly taken to the White House. Meanwhile the assassin had been arrested. He proved to be a disappointed and half-crazy office-seeker named Charles J. Guiteau.

The President lingered in fearful agony. Two surgical operations were performed, and at times his recovery was expected. But relapses occurred again and again, and his life gradually wasted away while the country was vibrating between hope and fear. After two months of suffering the President was removed, on the 6th of September, to a cottage at Elberon, Long Branch, on the Jersey coast. Here he improved considerably, but in a few days had a serious relapse. The end came on the 19th of September. For eighty days he had used his strong will-power to preserve his life; for eighty days his wife had watched and tended the sufferer; for eighty days the nation had hoped and prayed for his recovery. In vain the tender nursing, the watchful care, the medical skill; in vain the hopes, the wishes, the prayers.

Garfield's body was taken to Washington and then to Cleveland, Ohio, at each of which places it lay in state and was gazed upon by thousands upon thousands of men, women, and children. On the 26th of September the remains were deposited in their final resting-place.

The Presidential office was filled, according to the provisions of the Constitution, by the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, who took the oath at his home in New York early in the morning of September 20th, a few hours after Garfield's death. The new President was in his fifty-first year, having been born in October, 1830, in Vermont. He was graduated at Union College, studied law, and attained a prominent position in New York. During the Civil War he had conducted with great ability the office of quartermaster-general of his state. From 1871 to 1878 he had been collector of the port of New York. On the 22d of September, 1881, he again took the oath of office, administered by Chief Justice Waite, at Washington. The government went smoothly on, but soon Arthur changed several members of his Cabinet. F. T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, took Blaine's position as Secretary of State.

The trial of Guiteau, the assassin of Garfield, commenced in November, at Washington. It was a remarkable trial aside from the interest which it would naturally excite, and it was closely followed by the entire nation. Its result was the conviction of the prisoner, and he was hanged in the following June.

The "Star Route" frauds occupied the public attention about this time. Certain officers of the government had been given the authority to spend money for expediting the post-office service of the country. It was charged that a conspiracy had been formed for defrauding the government in the financial aid given to certain mail-routes in the west. Indictments were brought against several persons, among whom were Senator Dorsey and Second Assistant Postmaster-General Brady. After a long trial the principals escaped punishment.

During Arthur's administration two expeditions which had been sent to explore northern latitudes

were heard from. The *Jeannette* had been dispatched by the government in co-operation with James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the New York *Herald*. Its commander, De Long, and many of his party lost

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

their lives in the arctic regions. In 1884 the *Thetis* and the *Bear*, together with the *Alert*, presented by the British government, which had been sent to obtain tidings of another expedition under the leadership of Lieutenant Greeley, returned to the United

States with a few survivors of the ill-fated expedition. Greeley and his few remaining comrades were rescued from the very brink of starvation. They had passed through almost incredible suffering, but had succeeded in reaching the highest latitude ever attained—eighty-three degrees and twenty-four minutes north.

In 1883 the bridge across the East River, connecting the cities of New York and Brooklyn, was opened for travel. The central span of this suspension bridge is 1,595 feet long, and the roadway is 135 feet above the water. The whole structure is one of the most remarkable in the world. The same year marked the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

In 1884 the corner-stone was laid on Bedloe's Island, New York harbor, for a pedestal to support Bartholdi's colossal statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." The statue is presented by the French people, and the pedestal is to be erected by the people of the United States. Pedestal and statue are each to be about 150 feet in height, and the latter is to bear a powerful electric light. In February, 1885, the Washington monument in the capital of the country was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. This monument, in honor of our first President, is in the form of an obelisk and rises 555 feet above the ground. A World's Fair was opened in New Orleans in December, 1884, which lasted for six months.

In March, 1884, the country was startled by a riot in Cincinnati. Dissatisfaction with the result of a murder trial enraged the populace, and for three days a mob terrorized the city. Public buildings and considerable property were destroyed and forty-five persons were killed and over 100 wounded before the militia succeeded in restoring order. In the spring of 1882 disastrous floods in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys caused considerable loss of life, destroyed much

property, and rendered thousands of people homeless.

In 1882 a bill was passed by Congress prohibiting Chinese immigration to this country for a period of ten years, and the "Edmunds Law" for the disfranchisement of polygamists in Utah was also adopted. In January, 1883, an act was passed for reforming the civil service, and a commission, with Dorman B. Eaton, of New York, at its head, was appointed to carry the law into effect. A new tariff bill was passed on the 3d of March, 1883, and duties on imported merchandise were somewhat reduced. On the 4th of March, 1885, Congress passed a bill authorizing the President to place one person on the retired list of the army with full pay as general for life. President Arthur at once signed the bill and nominated for the position Ulysses S. Grant, who had lately suffered severely in unfortunate business transactions. The Senate confirmed the nomination a few minutes before the end of the Forty-eighth Congress and Arthur's Presidential term.

The same political parties that had contested the previous election put candidates in the field in 1884. The Prohibition candidates were John P. St. John, of Kansas, and William Daniel, of Maryland, and the Greenback, or People's party, put into nomination Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi. The Republicans named James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John A. Logan, of Illinois. The Democrats put forward Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The contest lay once more chiefly between the two parties last mentioned. Among national questions the Republicans stood on their record and also argued for a spirited foreign policy. The Democrats clamored for a reduction in the tariff, for reform in the government, and Cleveland pledged himself to the

cause of civil service reform. But the campaign was waged chiefly on personal issues and was very bitter. A considerable defection occurred of "Independent Republicans" who were opposed to Blaine's candidacy. The result was the election of Cleveland and Hendricks by a good electoral majority, but by a plurality in the popular vote of only about 65,000. New York was the pivotal state, and the Democrats carried it by a slender plurality of less than 1,200 votes. For the first time in twenty-four years the Republicans had failed to elect their nominees for President and Vice-President. The House of Representatives by this time had also passed out of the hands of the Republicans, though they still retained a small majority in the Senate.

CHAPTER LXVI.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION—1885 AND 1886.

Sketch of Cleveland—His Cabinet—Death of Grant—His burial—Other prominent persons pass away—Cleveland's message to Congress—The Presidential succession—Labor demonstrations and strikes—The eight-hours movement—Trouble with Canada and Mexico—Marriage of the President—The history brought to a close.

Grover Cleveland, the twenty-second President of the United States, was born in New Jersey in March, 1837. When inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1885, he was therefore forty-eight years of age. His early years were passed laboriously in helping to support his widowed mother, but he acquired a good education, studied law, and finally settled in Buffalo, New York, practicing his profession. As mayor of Buffalo he earned an enviable reputation as an honest, honorable, and sincere reformer. In the fall of 1882 he was nominated by the Democratic party for the responsible office of governor of New York. Large numbers of Republicans who were dissatisfied with the methods by which their own candidate had been nominated voted for the Democrat, others abstained from voting, and the result was a sweeping majority of nearly 200,000 votes for Cleveland. While still holding this important office he was nominated by the Democratic national convention and elected to the office of President.

The men whom Cleveland chose as his Cabinet officers were confirmed by the Senate. The list is as follows: Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary

of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; William C. Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General; and A. H. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General. No changes have as yet taken place in the Cabinet, though the Secretary of the Treasury was severely stricken by illness in the spring of 1886.

In the summer of 1885 an event occurred which affected the entire nation with great grief. On the 23d of July General Ulysses S. Grant died, at Mount McGregor, New York, after months of suffering. The country had watched with pride and sorrow the calm fortitude of its hero under the insidious advances of a fatal cancer. Now when he was released from pain but taken forever from the people, the nation was profoundly moved. The body of the ex-President and great general was taken to Albany, where it lay in state, and then to New York. There tens of thousands of persons passed in solemn silence to gaze once more on the face of the dead hero. On the 8th of August the remains were laid to rest in a temporary vault at Riverside Park, New York. A procession composed of detachments from the United States army and navy, of the militia, of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of other bodies, and numbering over 40,000 men, formed the last sad escort.

The South as well as the North joined in mourning for the dead. His respect during the Civil War for the brave men whom he opposed and his consideration after the terrible conflict was ended for the suffering people of the South, while they did not destroy for a moment the confidence reposed in him by one section of the country, had earned the gratitude and affection of the other. As if to mark the final cessa-

tion of all sectional animosities, among his pall-bearers were included General Joseph E. Johnston, of Virginia, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, both of whom had been military leaders of the Confederate armies. Generals Sherman and Sheridan, Admiral Porter, Vice-Admiral Rowan, and other

GROVER CLEVELAND.

persons distinguished in civil life were their companions.

Several other eminent persons have lately passed from our midst. In October, 1885, General George B. McClellan died. On the 25th of November the Vice-President, Thomas A. Hendricks, died, at the age of sixty-six years, in Indianapolis, where he was buried with great honors. On the 9th of February, 1886, one of the heroes of Gettysburg, General Win-

field Scott Hancock, passed away at Governor's Island, New York harbor. In February Horatio Seymour was laid to rest, and on the 4th of August Samuel J. Tilden died.

The President's message to the Forty-ninth Congress, which assembled in December, 1885, suggested a reduction in the duties on imported necessaries of life and a suspension of the compulsory coinage of silver; advised that measures be taken for building up an efficient navy and for the suppression of polygamy in Utah; argued for the encouragement of civil service reform; and urged that the Presidential succession be established by law. The last suggestion was met by a law which passed both houses of Congress, and was approved by Cleveland on the 19th of January, 1886. It provides that in the case of the death of both President and Vice-President the duties of chief magistrate shall be performed by the Secretary of State; in case of his disability, by the next Cabinet officer; and so on through the list.

In the spring of 1886 the country was agitated by great labor demonstrations. Early in March an extensive strike was begun that soon spread over all the southwestern railroad system. The transporting business of this portion of the country was greatly hampered for several weeks, and at some points blood was shed. The chief disorder of this sort occurred at East St. Louis, Illinois, where the militia were finally called out to preserve order. Several strikes were also carried out on the street-car roads in New York City. On the Pacific slope the employment of Chinese laborers excited riotous opposition, and several lives were lost.

On the 1st of May a demonstration was made at various points throughout the country for eight hours as the limit of a day's work. The agitation was peaceably carried on in most places, but trouble occurred in Chicago and Milwaukee. In the former city a

body of anarchists took advantage of the turmoil, and on the 4th of May a bomb was thrown among a body of police. A frightful explosion occurred, and many lives were lost thereby and by the firing that ensued on both sides.

In May the old question of the Canadian fisheries was brought to the attention of the country by the seizure of an American schooner, the *David J. Adams*, on a charge of having purchased bait within forbidden limits. Considerable excitement was aroused in Canada and the United States, but it seems probable that it will be peaceably settled.

A difficulty with Mexico occurred in July. Our government has demanded the release of an American citizen named Cutting who is held by the Mexican authorities. No conclusion has yet been reached in the matter.

On the 2d of June, 1886, the bachelor President was united in marriage to Miss Frances Folsom, of Buffalo, New York. It was not the first time that a President of this country had taken to himself a wife, but it was the first time that such a marriage had taken place at the White House. The ceremony was simple, and was witnessed by a small company composed of the relatives of the President and his bride, of the Cabinet officers and their wives, and by a few intimate friends. At its conclusion the bride and groom departed to Deer Park, Maryland, where they passed a short and secluded honeymoon.

With this happy occurrence we bring the history of the United States to an auspicious conclusion. It is fitting that a nation which has fought and can fight great wars, and which has been and will be agitated by countless differences and quarrels, but which is, above all, a nation of peace and, in the main, harmonious feelings, should be ended by the chronicle of such an event. May the harmony prevail and the discords disappear!

CHAPTER LXVII.

CONCLUSION.

Commencement of our history—Review of its periods—Increase in population and area—Progress in mechanical directions—Increased commerce and travel—Wealth of the United States—Its state of civilization—Europe indebted to us—The example of a free, representative, and stable government—No tyranny or castes—Freedom and equality for all—Good ground for pride in our country.

Thus we have passed in review the events which have made the United States what it is to-day. It was precisely 900 years ago, to the best of our knowledge, that the first white man saw America. But Herjulfson and his successors among the daring Norsemen passed away, and the knowledge of the shores they had touched survived only as a dim tradition. The real history of this continent commences less than four centuries ago with the name of Columbus, and it was not until 1607 that the foundations of the United States were laid with the settlement of the first English colony at Jamestown, Virginia.

Then, after the Period of Discovery and Exploration commenced the Period of Settlement and Growth. Villages were at first feeble and scattered, and it was not until 1733 that Georgia, the thirteenth colony, was founded. But by that time the other colonies had been developing, and when, in 1754, the horrors of the French and Indian War commenced, a race of hardy, resolute, and prosperous people was found on the Atlantic coast.

Then came the Period of Independence and Union—

of independence which cost a bitter struggle for eight long years, and of union which involved heated debates and mutual compromises in the formation of a Constitution.

Our history as a nation commenced in 1789, when that Constitution went into operation. The inauguration of Washington as our first President ushered in a long Period of Development and Prosperity. Despite the party conflicts, despite the War of 1812, despite the Mexican War, despite the fierce conflicts over the slavery question, the nation prospered abundantly and developed wonderfully in area, in population, and in every direction.

Then came that dark page in our history, the Period of Civil War and Emancipation—four years of gloom and darkness indeed for the entire country, though illumined by splendid feats of bravery and by countless acts of heroism. But out of the cloud of battle the states emerged once more a united nation and a free nation.

The Period of Reconstruction and Peace concludes the tale. To-day the reconstruction has been completely effected and peace dwells throughout the land.

The mere outlines of our history are wonderful in themselves: filled out by the details which are recorded in the previous chapters, they are still more marvelous. Four centuries ago not a white man trod the American soil. At the time of the Revolution the colonists numbered less than 3,000,000. To-day the population of the country is over 55,000,000. Our territory has also increased enormously. The area of the thirteen original states was 421,000 square miles; to-day the jurisdiction of the United States extends over more than 3,600,000 square miles of territory. And the thirteen original states are now joined in a Union of thirty-eight states and ten territories, besides the District of Columbia.

Our progress in mechanical directions has been rapid. The invention of the cotton-gin, the introduction of the steamboat and the railroad, the use of the telegraph and now of the telephone, the adoption of gas-lights and now of electric lights, the invention of the sewing-machine, and countless other discoveries and inventions, either original in this nation or speedily adopted from others, have brought us to an unrivaled excellence in the mechanical arts and sciences.

With these have come increased commerce and travel; with these have come intellectual development. Our wealth is attested by the fact that the average wealth of the inhabitants of the United States is greater than that of any other people on the face of the earth. Our progress in civilization is proven by the excellent public and private schools, by the numerous colleges scattered through the land, by various learned societies, and by the innumerable churches and hospitals which minister to the spiritual and physical natures of the nation.

Much, indeed, do we owe to the Old World, but much in return does Europe owe to us. The institution of a representative government, so stable and firmly founded that it could endure the great shocks of repelling invasion in the War of 1812, of carrying on a foreign campaign in the war with Mexico, of a Civil War that was one of the most bitter, costly, and fierce struggles known to history—the institution of so stable a government "by the people, of the people, and for the people," has given encouragement to the millions who faint beneath the tyrannies of European thrones. Gradually the Eastern Continent is becoming more liberal, and much of this progress is due to the example set by the United States.

Here free speech and a free press are not only permitted but encouraged. We are tolerant of every opinion; we are liberal to the extreme; we have no

hereditary titles, no orders of nobility. The laborer who earns his living by the sweat of his brow receives as much protection from the law as the richest millionaire or the highest official. No limit is placed to his wealth or elevation. Presidents of our country have split rails or driven canal-boats in their youth. But in this free air no anarchy can flourish. No theories which seek the dissolution of society find favor or encouragement in our midst. The American soil and the American air are too free and healthy for such morbid growths.

To one who considers the history of our past and our present, it does not seem wonderful that Americans are proud of their country. No other nation which ever existed has grown in such a short period to such splendid proportions. It is not strange that we look back with enthusiasm on our past trials and triumphs, that we think of our present with pride and of our future with hope. With one heart and one desire the American people look forward to renewed triumphs in the coming centuries, to still greater prosperity, still vaster development, and a still grander civilization for the United States.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

THE SOCIAL COMPACT SIGNED IN THE CABIN OF THE "MAYFLOWER," 1620.

In the name of God, Amen; We, whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and, by vertue heareof, to enacte, constitute, and frame, such just and equall laws, ordenances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cap Codd, the 11th of November, in the year of the raigne of our sovereigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

APPENDIX B.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, July 4, 1776.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now

the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused to assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration

and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay.—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island, etc.—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York.—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

Pennsylvania.—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

Delaware.—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.

Maryland. — Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia.—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

APPENDIX C.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION

Between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. The style of this confederacy shall be, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE II. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not, by this Confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon, them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice, excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other state; and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to

prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts and judicial proceedings, of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE V. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven, members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned, in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment, during the time of their going to, and from, and attendance on, Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person, holding any office of profit, or trust, under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign

state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into, by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties, already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up, in time of peace, by any state, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary, by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such state, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered; and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ship or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled; and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled; unless such state be infested by pirates, in which vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defense, all officers of, or under, the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state, respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct; and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX. The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power, of determining on peace and war, except in the cases, mentioned in the sixth article: Of sending and receiving embassadors: Entering into treaties and alliances; provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever: Of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal; and in what manner prizes, taken by land or naval forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or appropriated: Of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace: Appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies, committed on the high seas; and establishing courts, for receiving and determining, finally, appeals in all cases of captures; provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise, between two or more states, concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent, of any state, in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given, by order of Congress, to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy; and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges, to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons, out of each of the United

States; and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number, not less than seven, nor more than nine, names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out, by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination. And if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state; and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive. And if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall, nevertheless, proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment, or sentence, and other proceedings, being in either case, transmitted to Congress, and, lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: Provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "Well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" Provided, also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states: Fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States: Regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state, within its own limits, be not infringed

or violated: Establishing and regulating post-offices from one state to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office: Appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers: Appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States: Making rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated A COMMITTEE OF THE STATES, and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction: To appoint one of their number to preside; provided, that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years: To ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses: To borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted: To build and equip a navy: To agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on, by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than its quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such state; unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on, by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in

a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the numbers of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE X. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine states, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ARTICLE XI. Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE XII. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII. Every state shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions

which, by this Confederation, are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state; and the Union shall be perpetual. Nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to, in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislatures of every state.

And whereas, it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union:

KNOW YE, That we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name, and in behalf, of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which, by the said Confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent; and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

[Here follow the signatures of the delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Forty-eight in all.]

APPENDIX D.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

1*st Clause.* The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2*d Clause.* No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3*d Clause.* Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union,

according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.* The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4th Clause. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5th Clause. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

1st Clause. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2d Clause. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3d Clause. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4th Clause. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

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*Altered by the Fourteenth Amendment, Section II.

5th Clause. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

6th Clause. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall all be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief-justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7th Clause. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1st Clause. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2d Clause. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1st Clause. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2d Clause. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3d Clause. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4th Clause. Neither house, during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1*st Clause.* The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2*d Clause.* No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

1*st Clause.* All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2*d Clause.* Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3*d Clause.* Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House

of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power—

1*st Clause.* To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2*d Clause.* To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3*d Clause.* To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

4*th Clause.* To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5*th Clause.* To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6*th Clause.* To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7*th Clause.* To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8*th Clause.* To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9*th Clause.* To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

10*th Clause.* To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11*th Clause.* To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12*th Clause.* To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13*th Clause.* To provide and maintain a navy;

14*th Clause.* To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15*th Clause.* To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16*th Clause.* To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17*th Clause.* To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may,

by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

18*th Clause.* To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1*st Clause.* The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2*d Clause.* The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3*d Clause.* No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4*th Clause.* No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5*th Clause.* No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6*th Clause.* No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7*th Clause.* No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8*th Clause.* No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.

1*st Clause.* No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a

tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2d Clause. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3d Clause. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

1st Clause. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2d Clause. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

**3d Clause.* The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates; and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Represent-

*This clause has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

atives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in like manner, choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states; the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states; and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be vice-president. But, if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.

4th Clause. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5th Clause. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6th Clause. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7th Clause. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8th Clause. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

1st Clause. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States;

he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2d Clause. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3d Clause. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a

compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

1st Clause. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2d Clause. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3d Clause. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1st Clause. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2d Clause. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which

such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1st Clause. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2d Clause. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3d Clause. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

1st Clause. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

2d Clause. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part

of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1st Clause. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2d Clause. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3d Clause. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire.—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut.—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York.—Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey.—William Livingston, David Bearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware.—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

Maryland.—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

Virginia.—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina.—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia.—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

PROPOSED BY CONGRESS AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house

without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit, in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other

constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION I.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. II.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION I.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. II.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SEC. III.—No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of president and vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any

state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. IV.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. V.—The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION I.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. II.—The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

APPENDIX E.

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON HIS DECLINING A SECOND RE-ELECTION.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS—

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that

retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of any qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious —vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incite ment to unceasing wishes that Heaven may continue to you the

choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to

alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels the immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot

fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and the universal

satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make, and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-

concerted and incongruous projects of faction; rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the form of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in

the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, RELIGION and MORALITY are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tributes of PATRIOTISM, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible—avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remember also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by

shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantage which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts

through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions; to practice the arts of sedition, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interest.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations,

is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world: so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest.

But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of in-

tercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my own defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,
17th September, 1796.

APPENDIX F.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

Whereas, On the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such state shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of your Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three,

and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate, as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the naval and military authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:
WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

APPENDIX G.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF UNITED STATES HISTORY.

986. Herjulfson discovers America.
1492. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
1497. North America discovered by the Cabots.
1498. South America discovered by Columbus.
1512. Ponce de Leon discovers Florida.
1513. Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
1517. Cordova discovers Yucatan.
1520. D'Ayllon discovers Carolina.
1521. Cortes conquers Mexico.
1524. Verrazzano explores the coast.
1528. Narvaez visits Florida.
1534. Cartier discovers the St. Lawrence.
1541. De Soto discovers the Mississippi.
1562. The Huguenots attempt to colonize Florida.
1565. St. Augustine founded.
1579. Drake explores western coast of North America.
1585–7. Raleigh's attempts to colonize Carolina.
1602. Gosnold explores Massachusetts coast.
1605. De Monts founds Port Royal.
1607. Jamestown founded.
1608. Quebec founded by Champlain.
1609. Hudson River discovered.
1614. New York settled by the Dutch.
1619. Slavery introduced in Virginia.
1620. Plymouth settled.
1623. New Hampshire settled.
1626. Maine settled.
1630. Boston founded.
1633. Connecticut settled at Windsor.
1634. Maryland settled at St. Mary's.

1636. Rhode Island settled at Providence.
1637. Pequod War in Connecticut.
1638. Delaware settled at Wilmington.
1643. New England Confederacy formed.
1650. North Carolina settled.
1664. The English take New York.
New Jersey settled at Elizabethtown.
1670. South Carolina settled.
1673. Joliet and Marquette on the Mississippi.
1675. King Philip's War begins.
1682. Philadelphia founded.
La Salle descends the Mississippi.
1689. King William's War begins.
1690. Port Royal captured.
1697. The treaty of Ryswick.
1702. Queen Anne's War begins.
1710. Port Royal captured.
1713. The treaty of Utrecht.
1732. George Washington born.....Feb. 22.
1733. Georgia settled at Savannah.
1744. King George's War begins.
1745. Louisburg captured.
1748. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1754. The French and Indian War begins.
1755. Braddock's defeat.....July 9.
The French expelled from Acadia.
1756. Oswego captured by the French.
1757. Fort William Henry surrendered to the French.
1758. Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga.
Louisburg taken by Amherst.
Forts Frontenac and Duquesne captured by the English.
1759. Fort Niagara captured by the English.
Amherst occupies Ticonderoga.
Battle of the Plains of Abraham.....Sept. 13.
Quebec surrendered to the English.
1760. Montreal captured by the English.
1763. The treaty of Paris.
Pontiac's conspiracy.
1765. Stamp Act passed by Parliament.
1766. Stamp Act repealed.
1767. Another tax act passed.
1770. The Boston massacre.
1773. The "Boston Tea-party."
1774. The Boston Port Bill passed.
Colonial Congress meets in Philadelphia.

1775.	Battle of Lexington	April 19.
	Washington appointed commander-in-chief.	
	Battle of Bunker Hill	June 17.
	Montgomery defeated at Quebec	Dec. 31.
1776.	Boston evacuated by the British	March 17.
	British repulsed at Fort Moultrie	June 28.
	Declaration of Independence adopted	July 4.
	Battle of Long Island	Aug. 27.
	Battle of White Plains	Oct. 28.
	Hessians surprised at Trenton	Dec. 26.
1777.	Battle of Princeton	Jan. 3.
	Burgoyne captures Ticonderoga	July 5.
	Battle of Bennington	Aug. 16.
	Battle of the Brandywine	Sept. 11.
	Battle of Bemis' Heights	Sept. 19.
	Howe occupies Philadelphia	Sept. 26.
	Battle of Saratoga	Oct. 7.
	Burgoyne surrenders	Oct. 17.
1778.	France acknowledges independence of the United States.	
	The British evacuate Philadelphia	June 18.
	Battle of Monmouth	June 28.
	Wyoming massacre	July.
	Cherry Valley massacre	Nov.
	The British capture Savannah	Dec. 29.
1779.	Battle of Stono Ferry	June 20.
	Wayne captures Stony Point	July 15.
	Paul Jones captures the *Serapis*	Sept. 23.
	Americans repulsed at Savannah	Oct. 9.
1780.	Charleston capitulates to the British	May 12.
	Battle of Sander's Creek	Aug. 16.
	Arnold's treason.	
	Battle of King's Mountain	Oct. 7.
1781.	Mutiny of American troops.	
	Battle of the Cowpens	Jan. 17.
	Greene's retreat.	
	Articles of Confederation go into effect.	
	Battle of Guilford Court House	March 15.
	Battle of Hobkirk's Hill	April 25.
	Massacre at Fort Griswold	Sept. 6.
	Battle of Eutaw Springs	Sept. 8.
	Surrender of Cornwallis	Oct. 19.
1782.	Preliminary treaty of peace.	
1783.	The treaty of Paris	Sept. 3.
	New York evacuated by the British	Nov. 25.
	Washington resigns his commission	Dec. 23.

1786. Shay's rebellion.
1787. The Constitution framed.
1789. Washington inaugurated.....April 30.
1790. Harmar defeated by the Indians.
1791. Bank of the United States chartered.
Vermont admitted to the Union.
St. Clair defeated by the Indians.
1792. Kentucky admitted to the Union.
1794. Wayne defeats the Indians.
Whisky rebellion.
1795. Jay's treaty with Great Britain.
1796. Tennessee admitted to the Union.
1797. Adams inaugurated.....March 4.
1799. Death of Washington.....Dec. 14.
1800. Washington becomes the capital.
1801. Jefferson inaugurated.....March 4.
1802. Ohio admitted to the Union.
1803. Louisiana purchased.
War with the Barbary States.
1804. Duel between Hamilton and Burr.
1805. Peace with Tripoli.
1807. Fulton invents the steamboat.
The *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*.
Embargo Act passed.
1809. Madison inaugurated.....March 4.
1811. The *President* and the *Little Belt*.
Battle of Tippecanoe with the Indians.....Nov. 7.
1812. Louisiana admitted to the Union.
War declared with England.....June 19.
Hull invades Canada.....July.
Hull surrenders Detroit.....Aug. 16.
The *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*.....Aug. 19.
1813. Americans capture York.....April 27.
The *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*.....June 1.
British repulsed at Fort Stephenson.....Aug. 2.
Creek War begins.....Aug. 30.
Battle of Lake Erie.....Sept. 10.
English defeated on the Thames.....Oct. 5.
Battle of Chrysler's Field.....Nov. 11.
1814. Creek War ended.....March 27.
Fort Erie captured by the Americans.....July 3.
Battle of Lundy's Lane.....July 25.
The British enter Washington.....Aug. 24.
Battle of Lake Champlain.....Sept. 11.
Battle of Plattsburg.....Sept. 11.

1814. British repulsed at Fort McHenry.....Sept. 13.
Jackson attacks Pensacola.....Nov. 6.
The Hartford convention.....Dec.
Treaty of Ghent signed.....Dec. 24.
1815. Battle of New Orleans.....Jan. 8.
Peace proclaimed.....Feb. 18.
War with Algiers.
1816. Bank of the United States rechartered.
Indiana admitted to the Union.
1817. Monroe inaugurated.....March 4.
Mississippi admitted to the Union.
1818. Illinois admitted to the Union.
1819. Alabama admitted to the Union.
Florida purchased.
1820. The Missouri Compromise.
Maine admitted to the Union.
1821. Missouri admitted to the Union.
1824. Lafayette visits the United States.
1825. John Quincy Adams inaugurated.....March 4.
1829. Jackson inaugurated.....March 4.
1832. Black Hawk War.
Nullifiers in South Carolina.
1835. Seminole War begins.
Fire in New York.....Dec. 16.
The Dade massacre.....Dec. 28.
1836. Arkansas admitted to the Union.
1837. Michigan admitted to the Union.
Van Buren inaugurated.....March 4.
A panic occurred.
Battle of Okeechobee with the Seminoles.....Dec. 25.
1841. Harrison inaugurated.....March 4.
Death of Harrison.....April 4.
Tyler inaugurated.....April 6.
1842. Seminole War ended.
Dorr rebellion.
1844. First telegraph line established.
1845. Florida admitted to the Union.
Polk inaugurated.....March 4.
Texas admitted to the Union.
1846. Battle of Palo Alto.....May 8.
Battle of Resaca de la Palma.....May 9.
Monterey surrenders.....Sept. 24.
Iowa admitted to the Union.
1847. Battle of Buena Vista.....Feb. 23.
Scott captures Vera Cruz.....March 27

1847.	Battle of Cerro Gordo	April 18.
	Contreras and Cherubusco taken	Aug. 20.
	Molino del Rey taken	Sept. 8.
	Chapultepec taken	Sept. 13.
	Scott enters Mexico	Sept. 14.
1848.	Treaty of peace signed	Feb. 2.
	Wisconsin admitted to the Union.	
1849.	Taylor inaugurated	March 5.
1850.	Death of Taylor	July 9.
	Fillmore inaugurated	July 10.
	California admitted to the Union.	
	Fugitive slave law passed	Sept. 9.
1853.	Pierce inaugurated	March 4.
1854.	Kansas-Nebraska bill passed.	
1857.	Buchanan inauguarated	March 4.
1858.	Minnesota admitted to the Union.	
	Atlantic cable laid.	
1859.	Oregon admitted to the Union.	
	John Brown's raid.	
1860.	South Carolina secedes	Dec. 20.
1861.	Ten other southern states secede.	
	Kansas admitted to the Union.	
	Confederate States organized.	
	Lincoln inaugurated	March 4.
	Fort Sumter bombarded	April 12–13.
	Battle of Big Bethel	June 10.
	Battle of Bull Run	July 21.
	Battle of Belmont	Nov. 7.
	Mason and Slidell seized	Nov. 8.
1862.	Fort Donelson captured	Feb. 16.
	Battle of Pea Ridge	March 8.
	The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*	March 9.
	Battle of Shiloh	April 6–7.
	Island Number Ten captured	April 7.
	Fort Pulaski captured	April 11.
	New Orleans captured	April 25.
	Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines	May 31–June 1.
	Memphis surrenders to the Federals	June 6.
	The Seven Days' battle	June 25–July 1.
	Battle of Cedar Mountain	Aug. 9.
	Battles between Manassas and Washington	Aug.
	Lee invades Maryland	Sept.
	Battle of South Mountain	Sept. 14.
	Battle of Antietam	Sept. 17.
	Battle of Iuka Springs	Sept. 19.

1862.	Battle of Corinth	Oct. 3–4.
	Battle of Fredericksburg	Dec. 13.
	Battle of Murfreesboro begins	Dec. 31.
1863.	Emancipation Proclamation	Jan. 1.
	Battle of Murfreesboro ends	Jan. 2.
	Grant's victory at Port Gibson	May 1.
	Battle of Chancellorsville	May 2–3.
	West Virginia admitted to the Union.	
	Morgan's raid	June–July.
	Battle of Gettysburg	July 1–3.
	Vicksburg capitulates	July 4.
	Port Hudson surrenders	July 8.
	Draft riots in New York	July 13–16.
	Battle of Chickamauga	Sept. 19–20.
	Battle of Chattanooga	Nov. 25.
1864.	Grant commissioned lieutenant-general	March 8.
	Red River expedition	March–April.
	Fort Pillow captured	April 12.
	Battle of the Wilderness	May 5–6.
	Battles near Spottsylvania	May 9–12.
	The *Kearsarge* sinks the *Alabama*	June 19.
	Early's raid into Maryland	July.
	Battles before Atlanta	July 20, 22, 28.
	Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay	Aug. 5.
	Sherman enters Atlanta	Sept. 2.
	Battle of Winchester	Sept. 19.
	Battle of Fisher's Hill	Sept. 22.
	Battle of Cedar Creek	Oct. 19.
	Nevada admitted to the Union.	
	Confederates repulsed at Franklin	Nov. 30.
	Federals successful at Nashville	Dec. 15–16.
	Sherman occupies Savannah	Dec. 21.
1865.	Fort Fisher captured	Jan. 15.
	Sherman occupies Columbia	Feb. 17.
	Federals enter Charleston	Feb. 18.
	Battle of Averysborough	March 16.
	Battle of Five Forks	April 1.
	Federals enter Richmond and Petersburg	April 3.
	Lee's surrender	April 9.
	President Lincoln assassinated	April 14.
	Johnson inaugurated	April 15.
	Johnston's surrender	April 26.
	Jefferson Davis captured	May 10.
	Slavery declared abolished	Dec. 18.
1866.	Permanent Atlantic cable laid.	

1867.	Nebraska admitted to the Union.	
	Alaska purchased.	
1868.	President Johnson impeached.	
	Johnson acquitted	May 26.
	Fourteenth Amendment declared adopted	July.
1869.	Grant inaugurated	March 4.
1870.	Fifteenth Amendment declared adopted	March.
	Work of reconstruction completed	March.
1871.	Fire in Chicago.	
1872.	Settlement of Alabama Claims.	
	Fire in Boston.	
	Credit Mobilier scandal.	
1873.	Trouble with Modoc Indians settled.	
1876.	Centennial Exposition opened	May 10.
	Custer massacre	June 25.
	Colorado admitted to the Union.	
1877.	The Electoral Commission.	
	Railroad strikes.	
	Trouble with the Nez Percé Indians.	
1878.	Bland Silver Bill passed.	
	Yellow fever in the south.	
1879.	Specie payments resumed	Jan. 1.
	Trouble with the Ute Indians.	
1881.	Garfield inaugurated	March 4.
	The President assassinated	July 2.
	Death of Garfield	Sept. 19.
	Arthur inaugurated	Sept. 20.
1882.	Star Route trials.	
	Guiteau executed	June.
	Chinese immigration prohibited.	
1883.	East River Bridge completed.	
	Civil Service Bill passed.	
	New tariff bill passed.	
1884.	Rescue of the Greeley arctic expedition.	
	World's Fair opened in New Orleans	Dec.
1885.	Cleveland inaugurated	March 4.
	Death of General Grant	July 23.
1886.	Labor troubles and strikes.	

APPENDIX H.

THE STATES OF THE UNION.

Order.	Name.	When Settled.	Where Settled.	By whom Settled.	Date of Admission.	Area—sq. miles.	Population. 1880.
1	Virginia	1607	Jamestown	English	—The thirteen original states.—	38,348	1,512,565
2	New York	1614	New York	Dutch		47,000	5,082,871
3	Massachusetts	1620	Plymouth	English		7,800	1,783,085
4	New Hampshire	1623	Portsmouth	Do.		9,280	346,991
5	Connecticut	1633	Windsor	Do.		4,750	622,700
6	Maryland	1634	St. Mary's	Do.		11,124	934,943
7	Rhode Island	1636	Providence	Do.		1,306	276,531
8	Delaware	1638	Wilmington	Swedes		2,120	146,608
9	North Carolina	1650*	Chowan River	English		50,704	1,399,750
10	New Jersey	1664	Elizabethtown	Do.		8,320	1,131,116
11	South Carolina	1670	Ashley River	Do.		34,000	995,577
12	Pennsylvania	1682	Philadelphia	Do.		46,000	4,282,891
13	Georgia	1733	Savannah	Do.		58,000	1,542,180
14	Vermont	1724	Fort Dummer	Do.	1791	10,212	332,286
15	Kentucky	1775*	Boonesboro	Do.	1792	37,680	1,648,690
16	Tennessee	1757	Fort Loudon	Do.	1796	45,600	1,542,359
17	Ohio	1788	Marietta	Do.	1802	39,972	3,198,062
18	Louisiana	1718	New Orleans	French	1812	41,346	939,946

19	Indiana	.....	Vincennes	Do	1816	33,809	1,978,301
20	Mississippi	1699	Biloxi	Do	1817	47,156	1,131,597
21	Illinois	1682	Kaskaskia	Do	1818	55,414	3,077,871
22	Alabama	1702	Mobile	Do	1819	50,722	1,262,505
23	Maine	1626*	Pemaquid River	.....	1820	35,000	648,936
24	Missouri	1755	St. Genevieve	French	1821	65,370	2,168,380
25	Arkansas	1685	Arkansas Post	Do	1836	52,203	802,525
26	Michigan	1701	Detroit	Do	1837	56,451	1,636,937
27	Florida	1565	St. Augustine	Spaniards	1845	59,268	269,493
28	Texas	.....	.....	Do	1845	274,356	1,591,749
29	Iowa	1788	Dubuque	French	1846	55,045	1,624,615
30	Wisconsin	1669	Green Bay	Do	1848	53,924	1,315,497
31	California	1768	San Diego	Spaniards	1850	157,801	864,694
32	Minnesota	1846	St. Paul	Americans	1858	83,531	780,773
33	Oregon	1811	Astoria	Do	1859	95,274	174,768
34	Kansas	.....	.....	.....	1861	80,891	996,096
35	West Virginia	.....	.....	.....	1863	23,000	618,457
36	Nevada	.....	.....	.....	1864	112,090	62,266
37	Nebraska	.....	.....	.....	1867	75,995	452,402
38	Colorado	.....	.....	.....	1876	104,500	194,327

* Not exactly known.

APPENDIX I.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No.	President.	State.	Born.	Died.	Term of Office.	Of what Party.	Vice-President.
1	George Washington	Va.	1732	1799	Two terms—1789-1797	.....	John Adams
2	John Adams	Mass.	1735	1826	One term—1797-1801	Federalist	Thomas Jefferson
3	Thomas Jefferson	Va.	1743	1826	Two terms—1801-1809	* Republican or Democratic	Aaron Burr George Clinton
4	James Madison	Va.	1751	1836	Two terms—1809-1817	Do.	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
5	James Monroe	Va.	1758	1831	Two terms—1817-1825	Do.	Daniel D. Tompkins
6	John Quincy Adams	Mass.	1767	1848	One term—1825-1829	* Coalition	John C. Calhoun
7	Andrew Jackson	Tenn.	1767	1845	Two terms—1829-1837	Democratic	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren
8	Martin Van Buren	N. Y.	1782	1862	One term—1837-1841	Do.	Richard M. Johnson
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	1773	1841	One month—1841	Whig	John Tyler
10	John Tyler	Va.	1790	1862	3 yrs. 11 mos.—1841-1845	Do.	
11	James K. Polk	Tenn.	1795	1849	One term—1845-1849	Democratic	George M. Dallas
12	Zachary Taylor	La.	1784	1850	1 yr. 4 mos.—1849-1850	Whig	Millard Fillmore
13	Millard Fillmore	N. Y.	1800	1874	2 yrs. 8 mos.—1850-1853	Do.	
14	Franklin Pierce	N. H.	1804	1869	One term—1853-1857	Democratic	William R. King
15	James Buchanan	Penn.	1791	1868	One term—1857-1861	Do.	John C. Breckinridge
16	Abraham Lincoln	Ill.	1809	1865	1 term 1 mo.—1861-1865	Republican	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson
17	Andrew Johnson	Tenn.	1808	1875	3 yrs. 11 mos.—1865-1869	Do.	
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Ill.	1822	1885	Two terms—1869-1877	Do.	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	.....	One term—1877-1881	Do.	William A. Wheeler
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	Six mos.—1881	Do.	Chester A. Arthur
21	Chester A. Arthur	N. Y.	1830	.....	3 yrs. 6 mos.—1881-1885	Do.	
22	Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	1837	.....	.....	Democratic	Thomas A. Hendricks

*Elected by the House of Representatives.

APPENDIX J.

CENSUS TABLE.

NOTE.—The totals of the last three censuses include a few Chinese, Japanese, and Indians.

Census.	Date.	Numb'r of States.	White.	Colored.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Totals.	Percentage of Increase.
First	1790	13	3,172,006	757,208	59,527	697,681	3,929,214	———
Second	1800	16	4,306,446	1,002,037	108,435	893,602	5,308,483	35.11
Third	1810	17	5,862,073	1,377,808	186,446	1,191,362	7,239,881	36.40
Fourth	1820	23	7,862,166	1,771,656	233,634	1,538,022	9,633,822	33.06
Fifth	1830	24	10,537,378	2,328,642	319,599	2,009,043	12,866,020	33.55
Sixth	1840	26	14,195,805	2,873,648	386,293	2,487,355	17,069,453	32.67
Seventh	1850	31	19,553,068	3,638,808	434,495	3,204,313	23,191,876	35.86
Eighth	1860	33	26,922,537	4,441,830	488,070	3,953,760	31,443,321	35.58
Ninth	1870	37	33,589,377	4,880,009	4,880,009	.....	38,558,371	22.63
Tenth	1880	38	43,402,970	6,580,793	6,580,793	.....	50,155,783	30.08

INDEX.

PAGE

Abenaki Indians..... 163
Abercrombie, General..... 212
Acadia..... 56
Adams, John..... 312, 324
John Quincy..... 367
Alabama Claims..... 501
Alaska, Purchase of..... 496
Algonquins..... 24
Alien and Sedition laws..... 326
Allen, Ethan..... 248
Amendments, The slavery..... 494
Amerigo Vespucci..... 38
Amidas and Barlow..... 65
André, Major..... 296
Andros, Sir Edmund..... 126
Anti-Masonic excitement..... 369
Aquidneck..... 160
Arctic expeditions..... 407
Argall, Captain..... 90
Arlington, Earl of..... 99
Arnold, Benedict..... 247
Treason of..... 294
raid into Connecticut..... 299
Articles of Confederation..... 300
Ashburton Treaty..... 386
Bacon, Nathaniel..... 100
Bacon's rebellion..... 101
Balboa..... 42
Baltimore, Lord..... 178
Soldiers attacked in..... 436
Bank of North America founded..... 298
Bankrupt Act..... 496
Banks, General..... 458

PAGE

Barclay, Robert 170
Battles of the Civil War—
Antietam 453
Belmont 442
Big Sandy River 444
Boonville 441
Bull Run—first 438
second 453
Carthage 441
Cedar Mountain 453
Chickamauga 462
Corinth 448
Cross Keys 450
Front Royal 450
Gettysburg 460
Hatteras Inlet 442
Island Number Ten 446
Iuka Springs 447
Lookout Mountain 463
Malvern Hill 452
Marye's Hill 454
Mechanicsville 452
Mill Spring 444
Murfreesboro 445
Perryville 447
Philippi 437
Savage's Station 452
Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing) 445
Stone River 448
Vicksburg 457
Waynesboro 480
Wilderness 458
Wilson's Creek 441
Battles of the French and Indian War—
Crown Point 211
Fort Duquesne 208
Battles of the Mexican War—
Bracito 396
Buena Vista 397
Cerro Gordo 398
Chapultepec 399
Cherubusco 399
Molino del Rey 399
Monterey 395

	PAGE
Battles of the Mexican War—	
Palo Alto	393
Resaca de la Palma	393
Sacramento Creek	396
Vera Cruz	398
Battles of the Revolution—	
Bennington	273
Brandywine	275
Bunker Hill	250
Concord	247
Cowpens	299
Germantown	276
Green Springs	303
Guilford Court-House	300
Hanging Rock	292
King's Mountain	294
Lexington	247
Long Island	262
Monmouth	281
Paulus Hook	288
Princeton	268
Saratoga	273
Savannah	285
Stony Point	288
Trenton	266
White Plains	264
Yorktown	304
Battles of the War of 1812—	
Chrysler's Field	349
Lundy's Lane	353
New Orleans	357
Plattsburg	354
Sackett's Harbor	349
Bellomont, Earl of	148
Berkeley, Sir William	98
Berlin Decree	334
Black Hawk War	374
Black Friday	499
Bland Silver Bill	508
Block, Adrian	71
Bloody Brook	123
Body of Liberties	116
Bon Homme Richard, The	289
Booth, John Wilkes	483
Boscawen, Admiral	216

PAGE

Boston, Evacuation of 258
founded 112
massacre 243
"Tea-party" 244
Braddock, General 206
Bradford, William 109
Brock, General 341
Brown, John 418
Brown's raid 418
Buchanan, James 415
Burgoyne, General 272
Surrender of 273
Burnside, General 454
Burr, Aaron 319
duel with Hamilton 333
trial for treason 334
Burroughs, George 130
Butler, Benjamin F., General 446
Cable, Atlantic 416
Cabot, John 38
Sebastian 39
Cabrillo 49
Calhoun, John C 340
Call for troops, First 436
Canonicus 109
Captain Kidd 148
Capture of Atlanta 470
Fort Henry 445
Lexington 441
Mobile 476
New Orleans 447
Savannah 470
the *Alabama* 478
Vicksburg 457
Yorktown 451
Carteret, Sir George 167
Cartier, Jacques 52
Carver, John 107
Cayugas 24
Census, First 320
Second 338
of 1840 381
of 1870 500
of 1880 510

PAGE

Champlain, Samuel de..... 57
Charleston, Siege of..... 291
Charter Oak..... 157
Cherokees..... 24
Civil Rights Bill..... 494
Clayborne, William..... 177
Clay, Henry..... 340
Clermont, The..... 336
Cleveland, Grover..... 521
Marriage of..... 525
Coddington, William..... 161
Colonial Union..... 205
Columbia, Burning of..... 479
Columbus..... 30
Comanches..... 25
Confederate cruisers..... 477
government, Formation of..... 421
Congress, First..... 240
Connecticut Colony..... 114, 152
Conscription Act passed..... 465
Constitutional Convention..... 310
Constitution, Ratification of..... 312
Convention of Associates..... 182
Cordova, Fernandez de..... 43
Corey, Giles..... 130
Cornbury, Lord..... 149
Cornwallis, Lord..... 300
Surrender of..... 301
Coronado..... 49
Cortereal, Gaspar..... 49
Cortes..... 43
Cotton Mather..... 130
Craig, Sir James..... 340
Cranfield, Edward..... 164
Credit Mobilier scandal..... 502
Creek Indians..... 25
Trouble with..... 348
Cromwell, Oliver..... 96
Culpepper, John..... 185
Lord..... 98
Dakotas..... 25
Dale, Sir Thomas..... 89
Danbury, Burning of..... 270
Darrah, Lydia..... 277

PAGE

Davis, Jefferson 421
Dearborn, Henry 340
Debt of the United States 485
Decatur, Commodore 359
Declaration of Independence 260
Deerfield, Burning of 122
De Kalb, Baron 271
  Death of 293
De la Roque 53
De la Salle, Robert 58
De la Ware, Lord 87
De Soto 46
D'Estaing, Admiral, and fleet 281
Detroit, Surrender of 341
Dieskau, General 210
Discovery of gold in California 401
Dominique de Gourgues 55
Dorr's rebellion 386
Dougan, Thomas 145
Draft riots in New York 465
Drake, Sir Francis 63
Dred Scott case 416
Drummond, William 183
Dudley, Joseph 125
Dustin, Hannah 129
Dutch West India Company 136
Dyar, Mary 119
Early's raid 474
Election of first President, George Washington 312
  John Adams 323
  Thomas Jefferson 328
  James Madison 336
  James Monroe 360
  John Quincy Adams 366
  Andrew Jackson 370
  Martin Van Buren 377
  William H. Harrison 382
    Succession of John Tyler 383
  James K. Polk 389
  Zachary Taylor 402
    Succession of Millard Fillmore 406
  Franklin Pierce 408
  James Buchanan 414
  Abraham Lincoln 420
    Succession of Andrew Johnson 483

PAGE

Election of Ulysses S. Grant 496
Rutherford B. Hayes 505
James A. Garfield 510
Succession of Chester A. Arthur 516
Grover Cleveland 520
Electoral Commission 505
Embargo Act 336
Embassadors to France 279
Era of good feeling 361
Erie Canal opened 368
Farragut, Admiral 446
Federalist, The 311
Ferdinand and Isabella 34
Filibustering in Central America 410
in Cuba 406
Fire in New York, Great 376
Fisheries difficulty 408
Five Nations, The 25
Fletcher, Benjamin 147
Florida, Purchase of 364
Foote, Commodore 445
Fort Duquesne, Expedition against 218
Frontenac, Capture of 218
Lee, Surrender of 264
Moultrie, Attack on 259
Necessity 204
Niagara, Expedition against 210
Orange 136
Sumter, Attack on 422, 436
Ticonderoga, Assault on 217
Capture of 249
Washington, Attack on 264
William Henry, Surrender of 214
Fountain of Youth 42
Franklin, Benjamin 205, 279
Fremont, John C 396
French capture of St. Augustine 55
Frobisher, Martin 63
Fugitive-slave law 405
Fulton, Robert, and the steamboat 336
"Fundamental Constitution" 184
Gadsden Purchase 409
Garfield, James A 444, 514
Assassination of 515

PAGE

Garrison, William Lloyd 430
Gates, General 275, 293
Sir Thomas 90
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey 64
Gist, Christopher 202
Godyn, Samuel 137
Goffe, General 123
Gosnold, Bartholomew 67
Grant, Ulysses S., General 442, 445, 448, 457, 462
appointed lieutenant-general 467
captures Richmond 471
Death of 522
elected President 496
Greene, General 294
Great retreat of 300
Grenville, Sir Richard 65
Guiteau, the assassin 516
Half Moon, The 69
Hamilton, Alexander 311, 318
duel with Burr 333
Financial measures of 318
Harrison, General 339, 383
Hartford Convention 356
Harvard College founded 115
Harvey, John 95
Hayes, Rutherford B 506
Hazen, General 448
Henry affair, The 340
Herjulfson 28
Herkimer, General 273
Hood, General 468
Hooker, General Joseph 458
Howe, General 257
Hudson, Sir Henry 69
Huguenot settlements 48, 54
Hull, William, General 341
Hurons 24
Hutchinson, Anne 114
Indiana admitted into the Union 359
Indians 19
Customs of 22
Language of 24
Races of 24
Religion of 23
Tribes of 24

PAGE

Ingoldsby, Richard..... 146
Insurrection in Canada..... 381
Invention of the telegraph..... 390
Iroquois Indians..... 24
Jackson, Andrew, General..... 357, 371
Jamestown, Colony of..... 88
Settlement of..... 81
Jay, John..... 322
Jefferson, Thomas..... 318, 329
disagreement with Hamilton..... 322
Johnson, Andrew..... 493
Impeachment of..... 495
Joliet, Louis..... 58
Jones, Paul..... 289
Kansas, Struggle in..... 413
Kansas-Nebraska Bill..... 413
Karlsefne..... 28
Kearney, General..... 395
Kieft, William..... 138
Klamaths..... 25
Knox, Henry..... 318
Kossuth, Louis..... 408
Koszta, Martin..... 412
Labrador..... 49
Lafayette, Marquis de..... 271
Lane, Ralph..... 65
Laudonnière..... 55
Ledra, William..... 119
Lee, Robert E., General..... 452
Lessler, Jacob..... 146
Liberator, The..... 430
Liberty-bell..... 261
Liberty-tree..... 239
Lincoln, Abraham..... 434
Assassination of..... 483
Emancipation Proclamation of..... 456
London Company, The..... 79
Loudoun, Earl of..... 212
Louisburg, Expedition against..... 133
Louisiana, Purchase of..... 330
admitted into the Union..... 338
Lovelace, Lord..... 149
Madison, James..... 337
Magellan..... 44

PAGE

Marion, General ... 292
Markham, William ... 174
Marquette, Jacques ... 58
Mason and Dixon ... 176
and Slidell ... 442
John ... 154
Massachusetts Bay Company ... 111
Massasoit ... 109
Mather, Cotton ... 130
Maximilian, The Emperor ... 492
May, Cornelius ... 136
Mayflower, The ... 106
McClellan, George B., General ... 440, 451
Meade, General George C ... 460
Menendez de Aviles ... 48
Mexico, Conquest of ... 43
Miami Indians ... 320
Milan Decree ... 335
Minuit, Peter ... 137
Minute-men ... 245
Mississippi River, Discovery of ... 47
Missouri Compromise, The ... 364
Mobile taken by Farragut ... 476
Mobilians ... 25
Modoc Indians, Trouble with ... 502
Mohawks ... 24
Monitor and *Merrimac* ... 449
Monroe, James ... 361
Doctrine ... 365
Montcalm, Marquis of ... 212
Montezuma ... 43
Mormons, The ... 387
Trouble with the ... 415
Morris, Robert ... 296
Mound-builders ... 25
Mutiny of troops ... 297
Naval engagements—
Argus and *Pelican* ... 350
Battle of Lake Erie ... 346
Boxer and *Enterprise* ... 350
Chesapeake and *Leopard* ... 335
Chesapeake and *Shannon* ... 350
Constitution and *Guerriere* ... 342
Constitution and *Java* ... 343

	PAGE
Naval engagements—	
Essex and *Phœbe*	352
Hornet and *Peacock*	350
President and *Little Belt*	338
United States and *Macedonian*	343
Wasp and *Frolic*	343
Negro plot in New York	150
New Amsterdam	136
Newfoundland fisheries	509
New France	52
Newport tower	28
Newspapers in the colonies	228
Nicholson, Francis	146
Nicolls, Richard	141, 143
Nipmuck Indians	122
Non-Intercourse Act	338
Norsemen	27
Northwest boundary	401
Oglethorpe, James	194
Ohio admitted into the Union	330
Ohio Company	202
Omnibus Bill	405
Oneida Indians	24
Onondaga Indians	24
"On to Washington"	437
Orders in Council	334
Ostend Manifesto, The	412
Otis, James	238
Pacific Railroad, Opening of	499
Panic of 1837	378
of 1873	503
Papal bull	62
Patrick Henry	246
Penn, William	169, 172
Pequod Indians	154
Percy, Sir George	88
Perry, Commodore	346
Personal-liberty laws	418
Peru, Conquest of	45
Philadelphia, Founding of	174
Philip, King	121
Phipps, Sir William	129
Pierce, Franklin	409
Pilgrims	105
Pitcairn, Major	247

PAGE

Pizarro 45
Plymouth Colony 103
Company, The 79
Rock 107
Pocahontas 85, 90
Polk, James K 391
Ponce de Leon 42
Pontiac 223
Pope, General 446
Population of the colonies 229
Port Royal, Expedition against 132
Powhatan 85
Preble, Commodore 332
Prescott, Colonel 250
Prevost, General 285
Pring, Martin 68
Proclamation of amnesty 492
Providence Plantations 159
Puritans, The 105
Putnam, General 251
at Horse Neck 287
Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania 169
Persecution of 118
Quebec, Assault by Arnold on 254
Taking of 220
Railroad, First 377
Raleigh, Sir Walter 65
Ratcliffe 82
Raymbault, Charles 58
Religious dissension in Maryland colony 181
freedom established in Maryland colony 180
Regicides, The 119
Revere, Paul 246
Roanoke Island, Settlement of 65
Lost Colony of 67
Robinson, William 119
Rodrigo de Triana 36
Rolfe, John 90
Rosecrans, General 447
Retreat across New Jersey 264
of Greene 300
Ribault, Jean 54
Samoset 108
San Salvador 36

PAGE

Santa Anna, General.... 395
Santa Fé, Settlement of.... 49
Sassacus.... 154
Schuyler, General.... 272
Scott, Winfield.... 397
Secession of southern states.... 421
Seizure of American sailors.... 335
Seminoles.... 25
Trouble with.... 362
War with.... 375
Senecas.... 24
Seven Days' battle.... 452
Shay's rebellion.... 311
Sheridan, General P. H.... 474
Sherman, General W. T.... 466
march to the sea.... 466
Shoshone Indians.... 25
Siege of Fort Niagara.... 219
of Louisburg.... 217
Slavery, Introduction of.... 92
the cause of the Civil War.... 427
Sloughter, Colonel.... 146
Smith, John.... 80, 103
Joseph.... 387
South Carolina and the tariff.... 374
Specie Circular.... 379
Speedwell, The.... 106
Squatter sovereignty.... 413
Stamp Act.... 239
Standish, Miles.... 108
Stark, Colonel.... 273
"Star-Spangled Banner," Composition of.... 356
"Starving-Time," The.... 88
St. Augustine, Settlement of.... 42
St. Clair, General.... 320
Stephens, Alexander.... 421
Stephenson, Marmaduke.... 119
Stocks, The.... 227
Stuyvesant, Peter.... 139
Sumner, Assault on.... 419
Sumptuary laws in the colonies.... 226
Sumter, General.... 292
Surratt, Mrs.... 483
Surrender of Lee.... 482

PAGE

Tanacharisson..... 202
Tariff discussion..... 371, 374
Tax acts in the colonies..... 238
Taylor, Zachary, General..... 392, 403
Tecumseh..... 338
Texas, Independence of..... 389
admission into the Union..... 389
Thomas, General..... 444
"Tippecanoe and Tyler too."..... 382
Tippecanoe, Battle of..... 339
Traveling in the colonies..... 228
Treaty of Ghent..... 358
of Paris..... 307
with Japan..... 410
with Napoleon..... 326
with Spain..... 323
Trouble with France..... 321, 325
Underhill, John..... 139
United Colonies of New England..... 115
United States Bank..... 372
Valley Forge..... 277
Van Buren, Martin..... 378
Vane, Sir Henry..... 113
Vasco da Gama..... 37
Verrazzano, Giovanni..... 51
Vespucci, Amerigo..... 38
Vessels of Columbus..... 34
Walker, Sir Hovenden..... 149
William, General..... 410
Walloons..... 136
Wampanoags..... 109
Ward, Nathaniel..... 116
War with the Barbary States..... 332
with Algiers..... 359
Washington in the French and Indian War..... 203
commander-in-chief..... 252
crosses the Delaware..... 266
Death of..... 327
declines a third term..... 323
elected President..... 312
farewell to troops..... 308
retreat across New Jersey..... 264
Burning of..... 355
City of, made capital..... 327

PAGE

Wayne, General 320
West, Francis 95
Whisky rebellion 322
White, John 66
William and Mary College 101
Williams, Roger 112, 159
Wilmot Proviso, The 402
Wingfield, Edward 80
Winthrop, John 112
Witchcraft 130
Wolfe, General 220
Worth, General 394
Wouter van Twiller 137
Wyatt, Sir Francis 92
Wyoming massacre 282
Yale College 158
Yamassee Indians 192
Yeardley, Sir George 91
Yorktown, Siege and capture of 304